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**WINGED MYTHICAL SINGERS
OF COSMIC MUSIC**

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*To my father,
who first told me about the music of the spheres,
and to my mother,
who encouraged me not to leave this work unfinished.*

I. INTRODUCTION¹

Myths were the first step towards philosophy, according to Aristotle, and this statement is also true when it comes to music: the myths about music in ancient Greece were parallel formulations of the philosophy of music. For example, the magical effects of Orpheus's song over wild animals, storms, and the like, were interpreted by the ancients themselves as references to the soothing, cathartic power of music on human souls, a power acknowledged and praised by Plato, Aristotle, the Pythagoreans, etc.

The ancient doctrine of the music of the spheres has been mostly studied as a cosmological model built on the ground of mathematical analogies. This was already the way in which most of the ancient writers dealt with this topic, and it has continued to be the most usual approach in modern scholarship. But in this case mythology also came before philosophy: it seems remarkable that, before Aristotle attributed the doctrine about the music of the spheres to the Pythagoreans, the first allusion to cosmic music is to be found in an eschatological context, the so-called "myth of Er" in Plato's *Republic*. Here we find a kind of mythical beings (the Sirens) as responsible for cosmic harmony, and their eschatological context is worthy to be examined, because very little attention has been paid to the religious side of the belief in the harmony of the spheres.² In the *Timaeus*, another group of mythical figures seems to be concerned with cosmic harmony (the Muses), and some Neoplatonic philosophers (Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus) dealt extensively with those Muses and Sirens: for example, in his collection of old Pythagorean sayings, Iamblichus included a statement according to which the musical octave has the Sirens in it. Another Pythagorean aphorism, now transmitted by Porphyry (who quotes Aristotle as his source), says that the Pleiads are the lyre of the

Muses. We think it is important that the Pleiads are the only heavenly body related to the music of the spheres, besides the Sun, Moon and the planets. On the other hand, the Church Fathers substitute angelic hierarchies for the Muses and Sirens of paganism. The angels shared some functions (song, association with the stars, leading souls up to paradise) and even iconographical traits (the wings) with the Sirens and Muses.

Consequently, the aim of this research is to sketch a history of the doctrine of cosmic music as a mythical element in ancient musical thought. We shall deal with the mythical bearers of the music of the spheres: Sirens, Moirai (who sing alongside with the Sirens in Plato's "myth of Er"), Muses, and Pleiads. The angelic hierarchies will be shortly dealt with in an appendix, since a thorough examination of their connection with cosmic music would require another study, far longer than the present one, but which we shall undertake in the future. As to the Sirens, Muses, and Pleiads, we shall expose what the ancient literary and iconographic sources say about them as mythical musicians of the universe. Our method will take as its point of departure the systematical study of literary and iconographical sources of ancient Greece and Rome of a period stretching itself since Homer until the fall of Western Roman Empire. Occasional references to medieval sources are also made. The literary sources are not only those mentioned in the bibliography, but all those we shall be able to retrieve from the following textual databases: TLG-E edited by the University of California, Irvine; the Latin CD-ROM edited by the Packard Humanities Institute, and the Patrologia Latina Database. As to the iconographic material, we shall take as our point of departure the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, and the monuments alluded to in the secondary literature. Through these sources we will try to describe, within a diachronical perspective, the evolution of the subject. But of course, if we are allowed to paraphrase Joscelyn Godwin,³ we are not dealing with cosmology, but with the

history of human fantasy, with what mankind has imagined about the relationships between music and cosmology. We are not trying to demonstrate that the stars make sounds. Our aim is to expose the genesis, inner working, and development of these myths through the literature and art of ancient Greece and Rome. And, just like Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty in her sourcebook of Hindu myths acknowledges having chosen most of the selected myths because she loves them,⁴ we acknowledge having chosen these myths because we consider them among the most beautiful creations of human imagination.⁵

We have tried that the main text of this study could be read and understood by any non-Classicist reader without going to the endnotes. These are primarily intended to form a *dossier* where the specialist or any interested reader can find the complete references to the sources and secondary literature we took our information from, the full citation of the passages and images dealt with in the main text, and discussions of particular details.

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also say thanks to the librarians of the above mentioned universities and those of other institutions at the same cities, where I developed my research, as well as to the responsible people for the inter-library loan service of all those libraries. Thanks also to the photographic and reproduction services of the museums where the iconographic pieces of evidence mentioned are conserved, for providing photos of thpse the art works, and giving permission to use them. My family and friends gave me the endless support of their interest in my topic, and were patient enough as to listen to me when I was thinking aloud about my work. Last, but not least, the music of Alexander Scriabin accompanied and inspired me along every phase of this research. I dedicate this work to all of them.

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² Although Burkert, 1962, 357 of the English version, pointed out that the background of this doctrine is to be found in eschatology, rather than in cosmology.

³ 1993, 188: “*Our study is ...less an investigation of the truth about the past than a survey of intellectual history.*”

⁴ O’Flaherty, 1975, 16.

⁵ We have previously exposed part of the results of our research on this topic; see Molina Moreno, 2000, 2002, 2002 b, 2013 and 2013 b. A somewhat abridged version of our section II. 4. can be found in Molina Moreno, 2008 b.

II. MYTHICAL MUSICIANS OF THE SPHERES

II. 1. WHAT SONG THE CELESTIAL SIRENS SANG?

The first explicit allusion to cosmic music in Greek literature occurs in the context of an eschatological apocalypse, the so-called myth or dream of Er at the end of Plato's *Republic*.¹ Therefore, in this first section we shall begin with a presentation of the Sirens, who sing that celestial music in Plato's myth, and we shall examine the texts linking the Sirens with the music of the spheres, from Plato to Proclus and some Byzantine authors. After that, we shall examine how the Sirenes could become associated with the music of the spheres, and what was their function in the eschatological context where Plato mentioned them. In this connection, we shall try to demonstrate that the Platonic Sirens could be personifications of the sounds of heavenly music, as Theo of Smyrna said, and that some other interpretations by later authors could have been acceptable in Plato's time as well: for example, the Plutarchean view of Plato's Sirens as psychopomps who lead the souls to heavenly immortality through their song, or the Neoplatonic interpretation of the Sirens as souls. All these explanations do not exclude each other, and their spiritual background already existed in Greece in the Classical period.

a) An Overview of the Evidence

In Plato's myth of Er, heavenly music is sung by Sirens sitting on the edge of each of the world's circles.² Among later writers, Philo of Alexandria (first century

B. C. E.-first century C. E.) compared the alluring power of the harmony of the spheres with that of the Sirens' song, and according to Theon of Smyrna (second century C. E.), the cosmic Sirens of Plato's myth are to be thought of as embodiments of the sounds of the stars. Proclus (fifth century C. E.) reversed this view, saying that the sounds are an image to describe the activity of the Sirens, and that the Platonic Sirens might be the divine souls of the world's spheres. Besides, Proclus interprets Plato's statement that each Siren sang a single tone as a metaphor referring to the even velocity of each star.³ Perhaps an echo of these conceptions linking Sirens and heavenly bodies is still to be found in a poem by the thirteenth-fourteenth century C. E. Ephesian-Constantinopolitan poet and naturalist Manuel Philes, who invoked the Sun as siren, but this seems rather to be an affectionate call.⁴

As to the iconographic evidence of the Sirens' heavenly connections, Hofstetter mentions a sixth century B. C. E. carnelian (V 31; our pl. 1), on which we see a Siren with two stars under and over her tail, perhaps hinting at the heavens where the Siren flies.⁵



Pl. 1: Siren with stars

¹ There is also a hint to the doctrine of cosmic harmony in the Hippocratic treatise *De hebdomadibus*, 2, which may be earlier than Plato's *Republic*. Vid. West, 1971 b, 368-9 (text) and 373-4 (commentary).

² Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 617b: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐφ' ἐκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρῆνα συμπεριφερομένην, φωνὴν μίαν ἰείσαν, ἓνα τόνον· ἐκ πασῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ οὐσῶν μίαν ἁρμονίαν συμφωνεῖν. Vid. Wedner, 1993, 70. Plato does not employ the word for "sphere", but "circle", as he is rather describing a didactic device (like an armillary sphere) "consisting of eight concentric hemispheres, fitted into one

another like a nest of boxes” (quoted from Adam, 1902, II, 448; cf. Rivaud, 1928, and Burnet, ⁴1930, 188). It is on the edges of those hemispheres where the Sirens stand. Cf. Macrobius, *In Somn. Scip.*, II, 3, 1: *Hinc Plato in Re publica sua cum de sphaerarum caelestium uolubilitate tractaret, singulas ait Sirenas singulis orbibus insidere, significans sphaerarum motu cantum numinibus exhiberi.*

³ A. Comparison between Sirens and heavenly music: Philo of Alexandria, *Quaestiones in Genesim*, III, 3 (*Perfecta musica ex motu stellarum harmonice cooptata ... excitat insaniam in auribus, et indomitam voluptatem afferens animo facit ut contemnatur cibus et potus atque fame mortem appropinquante fere moriamur ob cupidinem cantus* [Phaedr., 259 C] ... *Quod si Sirenum cantatio, ut Homerus ait, ita violenter invitat auditores ut oblivioni tradant patriam, domum, amicos et cibos necessarios, quanto magis perfectissima et summa harmonia praedita atque vere coelestis musica attingens instrumentum auris cogit insanire ac divinare*). Cf. also Philo of Alexandria, *De somniis*, I, 35-6 (ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς αἰεὶ μελωδεῖ, κατὰ τὰς κινήσεις τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀμμουσον ἀρμονίαν ἀποτελῶν· ἥς εἰ συνέβαινε τὴν ἡχὴν εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας φθάνειν ἀκοάς, ἔρωτες ἂν ἀκάθεκτοι καὶ λελυττηκότες ἴμεροι καὶ ἄπανστοι καὶ μανιώδεις ἐγίνοντο οἱστροί, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπέχεσθαι τρεφομένους μηκέθ' ὥς θνητοὶ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς διὰ φάρυγγος, ἀλλ' ὥς οἱ μέλλοντες ἀπαθανατίζεσθαι δι' ὧτων μουσικῆς τελείας ἐνθέοις ᾠδαῖς). About these texts, vid. Boyancé, 1963, 74-5.

B. Sirens as personification of the stars' sounds: Theon of Smyrna, *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium* [Mathematical Questions Necessary for the Understanding of Plato], p. 147 Hiller (ἐνιοὶ δὲ σειρήνας οὐ τοὺς ἀστέρας λέγεσθαι φασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων φορᾶς γινομένους ἤχους καὶ φθόγγους ἡρμοσμένους καὶ συμφώνους, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἡρμοσμένην ἀποτελεῖσθαι φωνήν). Theon mentions another interpretation of the Sirens as planets, on the basis of the verb σειριάζειν = “sparkle, twinkle”; cf. p. 146, 9-11 ed. Hiller (ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων ἃς φησιν ἐφεστάναι Σειρήνας οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς <φασιν> λέγεσθαι τοὺς πλάνητας, ἀπὸ τοῦ σειριάζειν), and Eustathius, *Ad Od.*, vol. 2, p. 5, l. 29-30 ed. Stallbaum (ἐν δὲ ῥητορικῇ λεξικῇ εὐρίηται καὶ ταῦτα· Σειρήνες, τὰ ἄστρα. σείρια γὰρ καλοῦνται παρὰ τὸ σειριᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀστράπτειν).

C. Sounds as image of the activity of the Sirens: Proclus, *In R.*, vol. II, p. 236, l. 27 – p. 237, l. 14 Kroll (ἡ μὲν γὰρ μία φωνὴ δηλοῖ τὴν ἀμετάβολον τοῦ τῆς ἐνεργείας εἶδους εἰς ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο μέλος ὑπαρξιν, ὥς ἐκάστης Σειρήνος αἰεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἰείσης φωνήν· ὁ δὲ εἰς τόνος τὴν ποιὰν φωνὴν ἐδήλωσεν εἰς ἑνὸς ἀπήχησιν φθόγγου τελοῦσαν· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν τάσιν καὶ ὁ φθόγγος καλεῖται τόνος. καὶ τέλος ὁκτῶ τῶν κύκλων καὶ τῶν Σειρήνων οὐσῶν μίαν ἀρμονίαν ἐκ πάντων ἀποτελεῖσθαι φησιν, οἷον τὴν διὰ πασῶν, ἐν ὅροις μὲν ὁκτῶ θεωρουμένην, ἐπτα δὲ διαστήμασιν, ὥς τῶν Σειρήνων τὰς ἐνεργείας εἰκάσθαι φθόγγοις, ἐξ ὧν ἡ διὰ πασῶν ἡ κατακορεστάτη τῶν συμφωνιῶν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν εἶναι τὰ διαστήματα τῶν φθόγγων, ἀρχόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς νήτης κάτωθεν καὶ τελευτῶντα εἰς τὴν ὑπάτην ἀνωτάτῳ οὔσαν· δεῖ γὰρ τὰ ἀνωτέρω κινεῖσθαι θάττον, καὶ δοκῶσιν αἱ ἀποκαταστάσεις εἶναι πολυχρονιώτεροι τῷ μείζονα λόγον ἔχειν τοὺς κύκλους αὐτοὺς τοῖς μεγέθεσι πρὸς τοὺς κύκλους ἢ τὰς κινήσεις αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλας).

D. Sirens as souls of the spheres or orbits: Proclus, *In R.*, vol. II, p. 239, l. 19-20 Kroll (τὰ[ς Σειρή]νας, ἃς εἵπομεν τὰς θείας εἶναι τῶν ὁκτῶ κύκλ[ων] ψυχάς); cf. *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 237, l. 26 – p. 238, l. 20 Kroll (ὅτι μὲν δὴ πρὸ σωμάτων οὔσας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσεχῶς ἐφεστῶσας τοῖς κύκλοις εἶναι ψυχὰς αὐτάς, δῆλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς κύκλοις κινεῖσθαι δῆλον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοῖς κύκλοις κινεῖσθαι δήπου μεταβατικῶς αὐτὰς ἀναδιδάσκει. καὶ εἰ μὴ μῦθος ἦν, εἶπεν ἂν ταῖς Σειρήσιν τοὺς κύκλους συμπεριράγεσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὥς φιλοῦσιν οἱ μυθοπλάσται ποιεῖν, ἀνέστρεψε τὴν τάξιν καὶ τοῖς κύκλοις εἶπεν συμπεριφέρεσθαι τὰς Σειρήνας. εἰ δ' οὖν κινεῖνται καὶ αὐταὶ κυκλικῶς κατὰ τὴν ἀσώματον κίνησιν, ἀνάγκη δήπου ψυχὰς τινὰς αὐτάς εἶναι νοερῶς ζώσας νοῦ

γὰρ εἰκὼν ἢ περιφορά, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος ἐδίδαξεν [*Leg.*, X 897c], καὶ ψυχὰι περιάγονται διὰ νοῦν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, συνάδει ταῦτα τοῖς ἐν Τιμαίῳ [p. 35a sqq.] περὶ τῶν θείων ψυχῶν πεφιλοσοφημένοις, ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τῶν ἀρμονικῶν ὑφιστήκασιν λόγων· εἰ γὰρ τὴν κίνησιν αὐτῶν ἐναρμόνιον εἶπεν, ἔχοιεν ἂν κατ' οὐσίαν τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀρμονικοὺς, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν· καὶ εἰ περιφέρονται, καὶ αὐταὶ κύκλοι τινὲς εἰσιν, ὥσπερ φησὶ καὶ ὁ Τίμαιος [p. 36c]. καὶ εἰ μίαν φωνὴν ἀφίησιν ἐκάστη καὶ ἓνα τόνον, λογικαὶ πάντως εἰσὶ κατ' οὐσίαν, ἀπλαῖς χρώμεναι καὶ ἀσυνθέτοις ἐνεργείαις καὶ οὐχ οἷαις αἰ ἡμέτεραι, συλλογιζόμεναι, καὶ [εἰκά]ζ[ουσ]αι ἄλλ[οτε] ἄλλως, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα γνῶσιν· π[άλιν] δὲ εἰ μίαν συμπληροῦσιν ἀρμονίαν, οἷ[ον χορεύουσ]ιν περὶ ἓνα κορυφαῖον τὴν [τοῦ ὅλου] κόσμου ψυχὴν); cf. *In Tim.*, III, 69, 28 – 70, 24 Diehl (Ἀπορήσειε δ' ἂν τις ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰκότως, ποῦ τὴν τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ψυχὴν ὑφίστησιν ὁ Πλάτων εὐλαβούμενος, μήποτε τὴν αὐτὴν <τοῦ> τε κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ποιεῖ ψυχὴν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης (70.) ὕστερον· τὰς μὲν γὰρ τῶν πλανωμένων ἰδίας ἄστρον ἔχομεν διὰ τῶν προειρημένων περιφορῶν, καὶ μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ ελθὼν ἐρεῖ [38 E] περὶ αὐτῶν δεσμοῖς τε ἐμψύχοις δεθέντα ζῶα ἐγεννήθη. μήποτε οὖν ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ ψυχῇ διττοὺς ἀποθέμενος κύκλους καὶ διττὰς περιφορὰς συνυφίστησιν αὐτοῖς καὶ διττὰς ψυχὰς, τὴν μὲν τῆς ἀπλανοῦς, τὴν δὲ τῆς πλανωμένης ὅλης ὡς μίας περιφορᾶς, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐν τῇ θατέρᾳ τοὺς ἑπτὰ κύκλους λαβὼν ἔχει σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ψυχὰς τὰς ταῖς ἑπτὰ σφαίραις ἐποχουμένας· ἡ γὰρ ἀρτίως παραδεδομένη ψύχωσις οὐ τῶν σφαιρῶν ἦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄστρον τῶν ἡγεμονικῇ ἀξίαν ἐν ταῖς σφαίραις λαχόντων, διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς μνησθήσεται τῆς τῶν ἄστρον ψυχώσεως παρὲς τὴν τῶν ὅλων σφαιρῶν ψύχωσιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς κύκλοις τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς περιεχομένην· διὰ γὰρ ἀρχαιότροπον παραδόσεως εἶδος τὴν λεπτοουργίαν παραλέλοιπε τῆς ποικίλης ψυχώσεως· ἄλλη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ καθόλου ψύχωσις καὶ ἄλλη μετὰ ταύτην ἡ καθόλου μερικὴ καὶ ἄλλη ἡ μερικὴ καθόλου, καὶ τελευταία πασῶν ἡ μερικὴ, καὶ κατὰ πάντα τὰ εἶδη τῆς ψυχώσεως ὁ τε κόσμος ὅλος καὶ αἱ τοῦ κόσμου μερίδες ἐψύχωνται. μήποτε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους ἀκούσας τῆς προτεταίας [*Rep.*, X 616 E sqq.] τοὺς περὶ τῶν ψυχώσεων ἐκεῖνων λεπτοουργήσαντος λόγους περιττὴν ὑπέλαβεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐργασίαν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν καὶ τοῖς ὁκτώ σφονδύλοις ψυχὰς ἐπέστησεν, ἃς ἐκάλεσε Σειρήνας).

E. Astronomical meaning of the Sirens' tones: Proclus, *In Tim.*, III, 67, 6-11 Diehl: πρὶν γὰρ παραγάγῃ τοὺς ἑπτὰ τούτους κύκλους, εἶπεν αὐτοὺς ἰσοδρόμους εἶναι. ὅτι δὲ ἐκάστη ἐαυτῇ ὁμαλῆς, δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ [X 617 B] Σωκράτης εἰπὼν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁκτὼ κύκλων ἐφυστάναι Σειρήνα μίαν φωνὴν ἰείσαν, ἓνα τόνον. ὥστε τὸ ὁμαλὲς κοινὸν αὐτοῖς.

⁴ Cf. Manuel Philes, *Carmina inedita*, 11, 1: "Ἦλιε, Σειρήν, τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δρόσε.

⁵ Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 293 and 295, according to whom it likely is of Oriental-Greek provenance; vid. Boardman, 1968, pl. X, No. 142, and Guépin, 1966, 51, ill. No. 5, and our pl. 1. This carmelian is conserved in Paris (Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, former Collection Luynes 265). Our special thanks to the reproduction service of the "Bibliothèque Nationale," for supplying our pl. 1. Now (August 13th 2013) we see that pictures of this carmelian have been uploaded to the website of the "Bibliothèque Nationale" of Paris, and they can be seen at <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Daguerre&O=25001508&E=JPEG&NavigationSimplifiee=ok&typeFonds=noir> (August 13th 2013).

There is a star next to a Siren on another carnelian (first century B. C. E.-first century C. E.; our pl. 2), but this Siren is on earth rather than in the heavens, as suggested by the line on which she stands, and by the spike we see by her side. We do not know any other image similar to these.⁵



Pl. 2: Siren and a star.

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, ©Photo SCALA, Florence

And there is no doubt that such creatures are Sirens, if we compare them with the woman-headed bird identified as a Siren by the inscription ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ (= “I am a

Siren”), and represented on an Attic-Corinthian hydria of *ca.* 580-500 B. C. E., now in Paris (Musée du Louvre, Inv. No. E 869; our plates 3 a-d⁶).



Pl. 3a: Woman-headed bird with the inscription “ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ” = “I am a Siren.”



Pl. 3b: Woman-headed bird with the inscription “ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ” = “I am a Siren.”



Pl. 3c: Woman-headed bird with the inscription “ΣΙΠΕΝ ΕΙΜΙ” = “I am a Siren.”



Pl. 3d: Attic Hydria, in the upper part of which a woman-headed bird is called a “Siren.”

It would seem that the Sirens began to be represented as birds with human head in the sixth century B. C. E., and it is roughly this same epoch when similar human-headed birds appear in depictions of the Sirens' episode in the *Odyssey*.⁷ for instance, the Corinthian *aryballos* of the Basel Antikenmuseum, from *ca.* 590 B. C. E.,⁸ and the Late-Corinthian Boeothian *aryballos* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, from *ca.* 560 B. C. E. (our pl. 4a⁹), or the Attic Red Figure stamnos of the Siren Painter found at Vulci (Etruria), from 500-480 B. C. E., now at the British Museum, E440 (our pl. 4b).



Pl. 4a: Late-Corinthian Boeothian *aryballos* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,
with a depiction of the Sirens story from the *Odyssey*
(Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



Pl. 4b: Attic Red Figure Stamnos of the Siren Painter found at Vulci (Etruria), from 500-480 B. C. E.,
now at the British Museum, E440.

(taken from <http://images.perseus.tufts.edu/images/1993.01.2/1993.01.0608>,

February 8th 2013).

We might ask ourselves what role the Sirens played in Plato's myth. Let us begin to deal with this question through a more specific one:

⁵ For the other example of a star near a Siren, vid. our pl. 2 (carnelian conserved in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 81, 6, 115; cf. also Musti, 1999, pl. 4, and Hofstetter, 1997, Nr. 42). Perhaps further evidence may emerge from a closer study of the iconography of heavenly bodies, which we plan to undertake the future. Such a study might also clarify whether some dots appearing in certain images of the Sirens in Archaic and Classical Greek art might represent stars; vid. e. g. Yalouris, 1980. On the other hand, no one of the images mentioned and reproduced in the articles "Astra", "Planetæ", "Stellæ", and "Zodiacus", in the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, shows any feature akin to those of the Sirens (body or wings of bird, musical instruments). Only the Sun is consistently represented with wings.

⁶ Cf. Buschor, 1944, 44, fig. 34; Gropengiesser, 1977, 591, ill. No. 11 (cf. CVA Louvre (2) III Hd, pl. 12, 1 and 3; pl. 13); Hofstetter, 1990, 94 and 103 (A 88); Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 16, fig. 11; Marót, 1960, pl. XIII, and Weicker, 1902,

p. 20, fig. 13. Gropengiesser, 1977, 591, mentions an Attic band-cup of the Neandros Painter (550-540 B. C. E.; her illustration No. 12), now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Inv. No. 61. 1073; cf. Boardman, 1974, ill. 120, and our pl. 5), where human-headed birds are also called Sirens:



Pl. 5: Band-cup from Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, with a Siren identified as such by an inscription.

(Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

⁷ Hofstetter, 1990, 34-5. Gropengiesser, 1977, 593, n. 33 (from p. 591; cf. p. 560, n. 65) mentions an “oinochoe” where the inscription CEPEN appears in a representation of the Odyssean episode (cf. Boardman, 1974, ill. 286; it is an oinochoe of the Keyside Class, from Stockholm, Throne-Holst Collection). On the representations of the Homeric episode of the Sirens, cf. Fittschen, 1969, 161, 199 (with n. 942) and 200; Candida, 1970-1; Brommer, ³1973, 441-3; *eiusd.*, 1983, 83-8, and Schefold and Giuliani, 1978, 267-8, among many others.

⁸ Inv. N° BS 425; vid. Gropengiesser, 1977, 600, figs. 25-26 (she dates this *aryballos* ca. 600 B. C. E.); Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 1, fig. 1, and pp. 10-11, and Schefold, 1993, p. 268 and fig. 360.

⁹ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.8100; cf. Bulle, 1900; Köster, 1923, 93, fig. 23; Pfuhl, 1923, pl. 173; Payne, 1931, pl. 36, 5; Buschor, 1944, 45, fig. 36; Candida, 1970-1, 219-20, fig. 1; Vermeule, 1979, 202, fig. 25; Hofstetter, 1990, 34 and 58, and Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 2, fig. 2, and pp. 10-11.

b) Were the Platonic Sirens spirits of the stars' sound?

The Platonic myth of Er shows that the Sirens were the first mythical creatures to be alluded to as bearers of the cosmic music. Even before Aristotle wrote about the mathematical grounds on which the Pythagoreans built their doctrine of the harmony of the spheres, this harmony was described by Plato as a musical one, made up of actual sounds (*phoné, tónos*, in Plato's words), and, according to Aristotle, the Pythagoreans seem to have held the same view.¹⁰ This can make sense in the context of the ancient Greek tendency to humanize everything: as far as the heavenly bodies are concerned, we may remember that a face was attributed to the Moon (Plutarch's treatise being a notorious piece of evidence for that), and both the Sun and the Moon were given a chariot, a genealogy, a helmet, and a crown in the *Homeric Hymns* (Nos. 31 and 32).¹¹ In this connection, imagining that the heavenly bodies have a voice implies endowing them with one of the most typical traits of human beings.¹² One may think that Vergil was not a strict follower of the Pythagoreans, when confronted with the line of the *Aeneid* that calls the Moon "silent," and, on the other hand, with the Aristotelian passage about those (the Pythagoreans) who hold that the movement of heavenly bodies should produce a very powerful sound (*psóphos*, in ancient Greek), and consider that sound an "attuned voice" (*phoné enarmónios*). The substitution of "attuned voice" for just "sound" is not meaningless, since a medical text defines "voice" as "animated sound."¹³ And it was a single voice what Plato endowed his Sirens with in the myth of Er. In later texts, the heavenly bodies not only have a voice, but also produce a choral song: for example, Alexander of Ephesus calls the heavenly spheres "singing together," and Cicero and later authors mention the concordant song of the stars (*concentus stellarum*).¹⁴

Thus, interpreting the “harmony of the spheres” as a “fitting together of the planetary movements,” based on mathematical proportions, might be a later abstraction or rationalization of a myth.¹⁵ Who could the “author” of this myth have been? And what was that myth like? Was it the myth of Er with its heavenly Sirens? If so, was it an entirely Platonic creation, or could Plato be drawing on already existing Pythagorean images?

It is usually acknowledged that the idea of the cosmic music is earlier than Plato.¹⁶ We say “cosmic music,” instead of “music of the spheres,” because the idea of cosmic spheres, implicit in Plato’s myth, does not seem to be earlier than Eudoxus (391-338 B. C. E.): therefore, it has been considered anachronistic to ascribe the concept of the “harmony of the spheres” to Pythagoras himself. Concerning the “harmony” (*harmonía*) itself, it may have been understood by Pythagoras in a musical sense, and not only, as Meyer thought, in that of “fitting together”: the word *harmonía* in musical sense is already attested by the time of Pythagoras.¹⁷ It is almost certain that Plato took the idea of cosmic music from the Pythagoreans of his time: when he ascribed to the Pythagoreans the idea that music and astronomy are sisters, he was perhaps acknowledging that the doctrine of cosmic music was of Pythagorean origin, that is: he was implying that the Pythagoreans of his time linked both the astronomic and musical systems, a link that was the basis of the belief in cosmic music.¹⁸

As to the celestial Sirens of Plato’s myth, they are usually considered to belong to the earliest Pythagorean conceptions. To support this view, an aphorism quoted by Iamblichus (fourth century C. E.) is usually mentioned, in which the Delphic oracle is said to be the *tetraktys*, that is, harmony, in which the Sirens have their abode.¹⁹ Before we proceed to an evaluation of this aphorism, a brief explanation is needed of what the terms *tetraktys* and *harmonía* signify in this context. A clue for that may be supplied by

Sextus Empiricus (second-third centuries C. E.), who states that the *tetraktys* is the sum of the four first integers ($1+2+3+4 = 10$), and that *harmonía* is a system of three consonant intervals (those of fourth, fifth, and octave); the link between *tetraktys* and *harmonía* is provided by the fact that the first four integers express the proportions between the string-lengths that produce those intervals. According to Theon of Smyrna, who quotes Adrastus, a musical theorist probably born in Aphrodisia towards the end of the first century B. C. E., if we divide a vibrating string in four parts, the sound produced by $3/4$ of the string will be a fourth higher than the one produced by the whole string; the sound produced by $1/2$ of the string will be an octave higher than the one brought forth by the whole string; the sound of $1/4$ of the string will be two octaves higher than that of the whole, and the sound of $3/4$ will be a fifth lower than the one of $2/4$, that is: the proportion between the corresponding string-lengths will be $3/2$.²⁰ There are some pieces of evidence for Pythagoras as the discoverer of all these facts.²¹

The relation of this *tetraktys* with the Delphic oracle is rather intriguing²². Boyancé suggested that the *tetraktys* of the aphorism was another one, mentioned by Nicomachus of Gerasa, and the elements of which were the numbers 6, 8, 9, and 12, corresponding to the lengths of the strings *hypate*, *mese*, *paramese*, and *nete*. The *mese* yields a sound a fourth higher than that of the *hypate*; the sound of the *paramese* will be a fifth higher than that of the *hypate*, and the *nete* will be an octave higher than the *hypate*.²³ A rather surprising passage of Martianus Capella states that the wind, when blowing through the trees of Delphi, yielded sounds linked by those intervals, and Boyancé saw in this the explanation of the first part of the aphorism: “What is the Delphic oracle? *Tetraktys*, that is, harmony.”²⁴ According to Boyancé, both Nicomachus of Gerasa and Martianus Capella may be reflecting earlier traditions, because they employ the word *harmonía* for designating an octave;²⁵ besides, the pseudo-Plutarchean

treatise *De musica* quotes a fragment by Aristotle in which music is said to be quadripartite, which the Ps. Plutarch explains as a reference to the four strings of the Nicomachean formula, with the same lengths indicated by Nicomachus.²⁶

If we turn now to explore the link between *tetraktys-harmonía* and the Sirens, we shall find it difficult to link the Nicomachean *tetraktys* (6, 8, 9, 12) with the Sirens,²⁷ but there is a passage by Plutarch, in which the *tetraktys* associated with the Sirens is the so-called Platonic one. It would rather seem more appropriate to call it “double *tetraktys*,” since it contains two groups of four elements: first, the 1 and the first three terms of a geometric progression with the common quotient 2; on the other side, the 1 and the first three terms of a geometric progression with the common quotient 3 (that is, the two geometric progressions on whose ground the Demiurgos divided the world’s soul in Plato’s *Timaeus*). According to Plutarch, the Platonic Sirens were eight because the first divisors of the world’s soul were also eight, if we repeat the 1 at the beginning of the series of the doubles and the triples.²⁸ This, however, seems to be a Plutarchean combination of Plato’s developments of Pythagorean ideas rather than a Pythagorean doctrine on which Plato might have drawn. That is: Plutarch might have combined the Platonic Sirens with the Platonic proportions of the world-soul. Of these two ideas, only something similar to the last one (namely Philolaus’s doctrine about cosmic harmony²⁹) is likely to have belonged in the Pythagorean lore contemporaneous with Plato but at least partly independent from him. Concerning the cosmic Sirens, it might seem strange to support the view that they had their origins among the early Pythagorean images, by means of an aphorism attested eight centuries after Plato. We have no evidence that the aphorism quoted by Iamblichus was already current in Plato’s time, but it is generally admitted that many Pythagorean sayings may go back to Aristotle.³⁰ With respect to the aphorism about the Sirens, to say that the Sirens abide in the *tetraktys-harmonía* hints at

an animistic conception of the sound, which is paralleled by other Pythagorean aphorisms, and West has seen in this conception a rather archaic way of thinking, on the ground of similar beliefs of the Aboriginal peoples from Polynesia and Surinam.³¹ Thus, it is possible (but only possible) that the Sirens-aphorism was already current in archaic or classical times.

All this leaves us without any ground for admitting an association of the Sirens with the stars in the Pythagorean aphorism quoted by Iamblichus: that aphorism states only the connexion of the Sirens with Delphi and with the *tetraktys*, that is, harmony, but unless we had the myth of Er in mind (or assume an interpretation of the Delphic sanctuary as an image of the cosmos), the Sirens of the aphorism do not abide on the heavenly spheres, and the harmony of the aphorism is not the cosmic one. To put it in other words: taking the myth of Er into account, Iamblichus could think that the Sirens of the aphorism had their abode on the heavenly spheres, but if the aphorism had existed before Plato, nothing in it or in its background would admit that those Sirens were linked with cosmic regions. This could be a Platonic innovation, and the aphorism would not be a proof of the Sirens being linked with heavenly bodies or regions in the Pythagorean lore earlier than Plato.

It is more likely that, once the Sirens were linked with the sounds of the musical system (the *harmonía* of the aphorism quoted by Iamblichus), the next step would be to associate them with certain regions of the cosmos. M. L. West has suggested that the Sirens were transferred to the heavens when the musical system was linked with the cosmological one,³² a link the Pythagorean character of which is attested since the time of Plato.³³ Although we do not know any source (earlier than Plato or contemporaneous to him) relating the *tetraktys* to the heavenly bodies, we may recall that Aristotle described a Pythagorean cosmology in which the heavenly bodies were ten, and ten was

also the number formed by the sum of the elements of the *tetraktys*.³⁴ all this could further allow the Sirens to be put on the edges of the cosmic spheres, as Plato did, after reducing the number of heavenly bodies from ten to eight (that is, excluding the Earth and the Pythagorean Counter-Earth of the Pythagorean system described by Aristotle).³⁵ Plato could effect this reduction because the number 10 was neither that of the sounds of any standard ancient Greek scale, nor was included among those expressing the main consonant intervals (it was only the sum of the numbers expressing those intervals, as we saw above).

We may conclude that the association of the Sirens with the celestial regions may have been a Platonic addition to their initial, animistic association with harmony, as attested in the Pythagorean aphorism. Theon of Smyrna, however, attributed to the Pythagoreans the view that the Sirens of Plato's myth of Er were embodiments of the sounds of the heavenly bodies.³⁶ But this, to judge from the evidence available, may be a Pythagorean interpretation of Plato, rather than a pre-Platonic Pythagorean image.³⁷

Once we know how the Sirens might be linked with the music of the heavenly spheres, the question arises which role they played in the eschatological apocalypse of Plato's myth of Er. We may agree with Theon of Smyrna as to the Sirens being embodiments of the celestial sounds; but the ancients explained those Sirens in some more ways, which do not exclude each other. We shall examine them in turn: first, the Sirens as soul-birds; then, the Sirens as psychopomps. Although Plato did not say that "his" Sirens were souls of psychopomps, the culture of his time already provided the necessary background for those interpretations to make sense for a reader contemporaneous to Plato. And, as we shall see, viewing the Sirens as psychopomps might belong to an allegorical interpretation of the *Odyssey* as a journey of the soul, and this allegory might go back to the age of Plato as well.

¹⁰ Arist. *Cael.*, 290b 22-23: ἐναρμόνιον γίνεσθαι φασι τὴν φωνὴν φερομένων κύκλῳ τῶν ἄστρον.

¹¹ Radici Colace, 1995, 232.

¹² Radici Colace, 1995, 233.

¹³ a) Vid. Radici Colace, 1995, 233-5. The Virgilian line about the silent moon is in *Aen.*, 2, 255 (*tacitae per amica silentia lunae*); cf. also Silius Italicus, 15, 563 (*astra ducemque viae tacito sub lumine Phoeben*). On the other hand, Aristotle attests that the Pythagoreans attributed sounds to the heavenly bodies:

b) On the other hand, Aristotle attests that the Pythagoreans attributed sounds to the heavenly bodies (cf., for example, Boyancé, 1966 b, 80, n. 23):

b.1. Arist. *Cael.*, 2, 9, 290 b 12 – 291 a 5: Φανερόν δ' ἐκ τούτων ὅτι καὶ τὸ φάναι γίνεσθαι φερομένων ἁρμονίαν, ὡς συμφώνων γινομένων τῶν ψόφων, κομψῶς μὲν εἴρηται καὶ περιττῶς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰπόντων, οὐ μὴν οὕτως ἔχει τάληθές. Δοκεῖ γάρ τισιν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι (15) τηλικούτων φερομένων σωμάτων γίνεσθαι ψόφον, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν οὔτε τοὺς ὄγκους ἔχόντων ἴσους οὔτε τοιοῦτῳ τάχει φερομένων· ἡλίου δὲ καὶ σελήνης, ἔτι τε τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος ἄστρον καὶ τὸ μέγεθος φερομένων τῷ τάχει τοιαύτην φορὰν ἀδύνατον μὴ γίνεσθαι ψόφον ἀμήχανόν τινα (20) τὸ μέγεθος. Ὑποθέμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὰς ταχυτήτας ἐκ τῶν ἀποστάσεων ἔχειν τοὺς τῶν συμφωνιῶν λόγους, ἐναρμόνιον γίνεσθαι φασι τὴν φωνὴν φερομένων κύκλῳ τῶν ἄστρον. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἄλογον δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ συνακούειν ἡμᾶς τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης, αἴτιον τούτου φασὶν εἶναι τὸ γινομένων εὐθὺς ὑπάρ- (25) χειν τὸν ψόφον, ὥστε μὴ διάδηλον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐναντίαν σιγὴν· πρὸς ἄλληλα γὰρ φωνῆς καὶ σιγῆς εἶναι τὴν διάγνωσιν· ὥστε καθάπερ τοῖς χαλκοτύποις διὰ συνήθειαν οὐθὲν δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ταῦτο συμβαίνειν.

Ταῦτα δὴ, καθάπερ εἴρηται πρότερον, ἐμμελῶς μὲν λέγε- (30) ται καὶ μουσικῶς, ἀδύνατον δὲ τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον. Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν ἄτοπον, περὶ οὗ λέγειν ἐγγειροῦσι τὴν αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴδὲν πάσχειν χωρὶς αἰσθήσεως. Οἱ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντες ψόφοι διακναίουσι καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων σωμάτων τοὺς ὄγκους, οἷον ὁ τῆς βροντῆς διίστησι λίθους καὶ (35) (291a.) τὰ καρτερώτατα τῶν σωμάτων. Τοσούτων δὲ φερομένων, καὶ τοῦ ψόφου διόντος πρὸς τὸ φερόμενον μέγεθος, πολλαπλάσιον μέγεθος ἀναγκαῖον ἀφικνεῖσθαι τε δεῦρο καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀμήχανον εἶναι τῆς βίας. Ἀλλ' εὐλόγως οὐτ' ἀκούομεν οὔτε πάσχοντα φαίνεται τὰ σώματα βίαιον οὐδὲν πάθος, διὰ (5) τὸ μὴ ψοφεῖν. Ἄμα δ' ἐστὶ τό τ' αἴτιον τούτων δήλον, καὶ (6) μαρτύριον τῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῖν λόγων, ὥς εἰσιν ἀληθεῖς· τὸ γὰρ ἀπορηθὲν καὶ ποιῆσαν τοὺς Πυθαγορείους φάναι γίνεσθαι συμφωνίαν τῶν φερομένων ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον.

Ὅσα (9) μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ φέρεται, ποιεῖ ψόφον καὶ πληγὴν· ὅσα δ' (10) ἐν φερομένῳ ἐνδέδεται ἢ ἐνυπάρχει, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ τὰ μόρια, οὐχ οἷον τε ψοφεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ πλοῖον, εἰ φέροιτο ἐν ποταμῷ. Καίτοι τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἂν ἐξείη λέγειν, ὡς ἄτοπον εἰ μὴ φερόμενος ὁ ἴστος καὶ ἡ πρύμνα ποιεῖ ψόφον πολὺν τηλικαύτης νεώς, ἢ πάλιν αὐτὸ τὸ (15) πλοῖον κινούμενον. Τὸ δ' ἐν μὴ φερομένῳ φερόμενον ποιεῖ ψόφον· ἐν φερομένῳ δὲ συνεχὲς καὶ μὴ ποιοῦν πληγὴν ἀδύνατον ψοφεῖν. Ὡστ' ἐνταῦθα λεκτέον ὡς εἴπερ ἐφέρετο τὰ σώματα τούτων εἴτ' ἐν ἀέρος πλήθει κεχυμένῳ κατὰ τὸ πᾶν εἴτε πυρός, ὥσπερ πάντες φασὶν, ἀναγκαῖον ποιεῖν (20) ὑπερφῦά τῳ μεγέθει τὸν ψόφον, τούτου δὲ γινομένου καὶ δεῦρ' ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ διακναίνειν. Ὡστ' ἐπεὶ οὐ φαίνεται τοῦτο συμβαίνειν, οὐτ' ἂν ἐμπυχον οὔτε βίαιον φέροιτο φορὰν οὐθὲν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι προνοούσης τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι μὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐχούσης τῆς κινήσεως οὐθὲν (25) ἂν ἦν τῶν περὶ τὸν δεῦρο τόπον ὁμοίως ἔχον.

b.2. Arist. fr. 908 Gigon (cf. our note 26 to this section).

b.3. Arist. fr. 162 Gigon (= 203 Rose³ = *Περὶ τῶν πυθαγορείων*, fr. 13 Ross, *ap. Alex. Aphr., In Metaph.*, pp. 38, 8 – 41, 15 Hayduck; what concerns us here is on pp. 39, 19 – 40, 9, and p. 41, 1-9 Hayduck = pp. 413-4 of the edition of Aristotle's fragments by Gigon): ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἁρμονίας κατ' ἀριθμὸν τινα ὁρῶντες συγκειμένας καὶ τούτων ἀρχὰς ἔλεγον τοὺς ἀριθμούς· ἢ μὲν γὰρ διὰ πασῶν ἐν διπλασίῳ ἐστὶ λόγῳ, ἢ δὲ διὰ πέντε ἐν

ἡμιολίῳ, ἢ δὲ διὰ τεσσάρων ἐν ἐπιτρίτῳ. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν κατὰ ἀρμονίαν συγκεῖσθαι τινα (τούτου γὰρ δηλωτικὸν αὐτῷ τὸ καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἀριθμὸν) διότι ἐξ ἀριθμῶν καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἀρμονίαν. τῶν γὰρ σωμάτων τῶν περὶ τὸ μέσον φερομένων ἐν ἀναλογίᾳ τὰς ἀποστάσεις ἔχοντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν θάττον φερομένων τῶν δὲ βραδύτερον, ποιούντων δὲ καὶ ψόφον ἐν τῷ κινεῖσθαι τῶν μὲν βραδυτέρων βαρὺν τῶν δὲ ταχυτέρων ὀξύ, τοὺς ψόφους τούτους κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἀποστάσεων ἀναλογίαν γινομέ- 40 νους ἐναρμόνιον τὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦχον ποιεῖν. ἥς ἀρμονίας τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀρχὴν λέγοντες εἰκότως καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοῦ παντὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐτίθεντο ἀρχήν. ἐν διπλασίῳ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ φέρε εἶπειν τὸ διάστημα τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς εἶναι ἢ τὸ τῆς σελήνης, ἐν τριπλασίῳ δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἐν τετραπλασίῳ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστου εἶναι τινα λόγον ἀριθμητικὸν ἡγούντο, καὶ ἐναρμόνιον τὴν κίνησιν εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· κινεῖσθαι δὲ τάχιστα μὲν τὰ τὸ μέγιστον διάστημα κινούμενα, βραδυτάτα δὲ τὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, τὰ δὲ μεταξὺ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς περιφορᾶς. (...) 41. (...) λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς Περί οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δόξαις ἀκριβέστερον. καθ' ἀρμονίαν δὲ τὴν τούτων τάξιν ἐποιοῦν λαβόντες τὰ δέκα τὰ κινούμενα σώματα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος, διεστάναι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὰς ἀρμονικὰς ἀποστάσεις, κινεῖσθαι τε κατὰ ἀναλογίαν τῶν διαστημάτων, ὡς προείρηκε, τὰ μὲν θάττον αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ βραδύτερον, καὶ φερόμενα ἦχους ποιεῖν τὰ μὲν βραδύτερον βαρυτέρους τὰ δὲ θάττον ὀξύτερους, ἐξ ὧν γινομένων ἀναλογίαις ἀρμονικαῖς ἐναρμόνιον ἦχον γίγνεσθαι, οὐ μὴν κατακοῦειν ἡμᾶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ παίδων συντροφίαν.

c) Ps. Galenus, *Definitiones medicae*, vol. 19, p. 380, line 12 Kühn, defines “voice” as “animated sound:” φωνὴ ψόφος τίς ἐστιν ἔμφυχος.

¹⁴ Vid. Radici Colace, 1995, 236, note 19. For “singing together” (συνωιδοί) as an attribute of heavenly bodies, vid.:

a) Alexander of Ephesus, fr. 21, 9 *SHell*, quoted by Theo of Smyrna, p. 139 Hiller (according to *codex C* of Theo of Smyrna: πάντες δ' ἐπτατόνοιο λύρης φθόγγοισι συνωδοί; both Hiller in his edition of Theo, and Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, in theirs of Alexander within the *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, prefer συνωιδόν; vid. Radici Colace, 1986, 275);

b) Iambl. *VP*, 15, 65: τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς κινουμένων ἀστέρων ἀρμονίας τε καὶ συνφθασίας, πληρέστερόν τι τῶν θνητῶν καὶ κατακορέστερον μέλος φθεγγομένης.

c) For the *concentus stellarum*, vid.:

c.1. Cic., *ND*, 2, 119: *Nolo in stellarum ratione multus vobis videri, maximeque earum quae errare dicuntur; quarum tantus est concentus ex dissimillimis motibus;*

c.2. Apul., *Mund.*, 29: *Verum inter haec una mundi conuersio unusque reuersionis est orbis et unus concentus atque unus stellarum chorus ex diuersis occasibus ortibusque;*

c.3. Mar. Vict., 6, 60 Keil: *tradunt hoc sacrorum cantu concentum mundi cursumque ab hominibus imitari. namque in hoc quinque stellae quas erraticas vocant, sed et sol et luna, ut doctiores tradunt philosophorum, iucundissimos edunt sonos per orbis suos nitentes. igitur concentum mundi cursumque imitans chorus canebat dextrorsumque primo tripudiando ibat, quia caelum dextrorsum ab ortu ad occasum volvitur; dehinc sinistrorsum redibat, quia lunaque et cetera erratica sidera, quae Graeci πλανήτας vocant, sinistrorsum ab occasu ad ortum feruntur. tertio consistebant canentes, quia terra, circa quam caelum rotatur, immobilis medio stat mundo. de qua re Varius sic tradidit,*

primum huic

nervis septem est intenta fides

variique apti vocum moduli,

ad quos mundi resonat canor in

sua se vestigia volventis.

item et Varro,

*vidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe,
et septem aeternis sonitum dare vocibus orbes
nitentes aliis alios, quae maxima divis
laetitia est. at tunc longe gratissima Phoebi
dextera consimiles meditatur reddere voces.*

c.4. Mart. Cap., I, 11-12 (*inter haec mira spectacula Fortunarumque cursus [motus] nemorum etiam susurrantibus flabris canora modulatio melico quodam crepitabat appulsu. nam eminentiora prolixarum arborum culmina perindeque distenta acuto sonitu resultabant; quicquid vero terrae confine ac propinquum ramis acclinibus fuerat, gravitas rauca quatiebat. at media ratis per annexa succentibus duplis ac sesquialteris nec non etiam sesquiteritiis, sesquioctavis etiam sine discretione iuncturis, licet interenirent limmata, concinebant. ita fiebat. ut nemus illud harmoniam totam superumque carmen modulationum congruentia personaret. quod quidem exponente Cyllenio Virtus edidicit etiam in caelo orbes parili ratione aut concentus edere aut succentibus convenire*).

¹⁵ Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 26, n. 124, quoting Delatte, 1915, 260 and 276.

¹⁶ West, 1967, 12; Guthrie, 1962, 295-301, and Burkert, 1962, 351-2 of the English version (= 328-335 of the German one).

¹⁷ a) On the sphere model and the harmony of the spheres, cf. Burnet, ⁴1930, 110; Meyer, 1932, 47; Moutsopoulos, 1959, 376 with n. 8, and Pépin, 1986, cols. 594 and 609-10. According to Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 1073 b 17-18, it seems that the “sphere model” was first conceived by Eudoxus (391-338 B. C. E.): Εὐδόξος μὲν οὖν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης ἐκατέρου τὴν φορὰν ἐν τρισὶν ἐτίθετ’ εἶναι σφαίραις. Perhaps the Pythagoreans had already prepared the way to Eudoxus, when they attributed a uniform circular motion to the heavenly bodies; cf. *Gem.*, 1, 19 (Ὑπόκειται γὰρ πρὸς ὅλην τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ἡλίον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς εἰς πλανήτας ἰσοταχῶς καὶ ἐγκυκλίως καὶ ὑπεναντίως τῷ κόσμῳ κινεῖσθαι. Οἱ γὰρ Πυθαγόρειοι πρῶτοι προσελθόντες ταῖς τοιαύταις ζητήσεσιν ὑπέθεοντο ἐγκυκλίους καὶ ὁμαλὰς ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν εἰς πλανητῶν ἀστέρων τὰς κινήσεις).

b) On what Pythagoras could mean by “harmony”, Meyer, 1932, 47, interpreted it as “Zusammenfügung, Zusammenklang, auch Gesetzmäßigkeit und Ordnung”; but, according to the same Meyer, 1932, 54, ἀρμονία had already a musical sense by the sixth century B. C. E. (that is, the time by which Pythagoras is likely to have lived): cf. Sappho, fr. 70, l. 9 Voigt, where only the word χόρος, in l. 10, suggests musical connotations), and Lasus, fr. 1 Page (Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον / μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων / Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν). Zeller, ⁶1919-⁵1923, I, 463, n. 2, says that the word ἀρμονία meant “octave” among the early Pythagoreans, to judge from Aristoxenus (who criticizes this view in *Elementa harmonica*, p. 46, l. 9-10 Da Rios: τῶν ἑπτὰ ὀκταχόρδων ἃς ἐκάλουν ἀρμονίας), and the second century C. E. Neopythagorean Nicomachus of Gerasa (*Harm.*, 9, 1, p. 252 Jan: οἱ παλαιότατοι ..., ἀρμονίαν μὲν καλοῦντες τὴν διὰ πασῶν). Further, Philolaus, fr. 6b Huffman (transmitted by Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Harm.*, 9, 1, p. 252 Jan, quoted below, n. 29), defines ἀρμονία as a fourth plus a fifth.

¹⁸ Plato, *R.*, 530 d 6-9: Κινδυνεύει, ἔφην, ὥς πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν ὄμματα πέπηγεν, ὥς πρὸς ἐναρμόνιον φορὰν ὧτα παγῆναι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἀλλήλων ἀδελφαί τινες αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι εἶναι, ὥς οἱ τε Πυθαγόρειοί φασι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ Γλαύκων, συγχωροῦμεν. Cf. Boyancé, 1937, 101.

¹⁹ Cf. Iamblichus, *De vita Pythagorica*, 18, 82: τί ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον; τετρακτύς· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρμονία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Σειρήνες.

²⁰ A. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, VII, 93-95: ἦν δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ὑποστάσεως ἀριθμός· διὸ καὶ ὁ κριτὴς τῶν πάντων λόγος οὐκ ἀμέτοχος ὦν τῆς τούτου δυνάμεως καλοῖτο ἂν ἀριθμός. 94 καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφαίνοντες οἱ Πυθαγόρικοι ποτὲ μὲν εἰώθασι λέγειν τὸ

ἀριθμῷ δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέοικεν,

ὅτε δὲ τὸν φυσικώτατον ὁμνῦναι ὄρκον οὕτωςί,

οὐ μὰ τὸν ἀμετέρῃ κεφαλῇ παραδόντα τετρακτύν,

παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως ῥιζώματ' ἔχουσιν,

τὸν μὲν παραδόντα λέγοντες Πυθαγόραν [τοῦτον γὰρ ἐθεοποίησαν], τετρακτύν δὲ ἀριθμὸν τινα, ὃς ἐκ τεσσάρων τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν συγκείμενος τὸν τελειότατον ἀπῆρτιζεν, ὥσπερ τὸν δέκα· ἐν γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα δέκα γίνεται. 95 ἔστι τε οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς πρώτη τετρακτὺς, πηγὴ δὲ ἀενάου φύσεως λέλεκται παρόσον κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ σύμπας κόσμος κατὰ ἁρμονίαν διοικεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἁρμονία σύστημα ἐστὶ τριῶν συμφωνιῶν, τῆς τε διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ τῆς διὰ πέντε καὶ τῆς διὰ πασῶν, τούτων δὲ τῶν τριῶν συμφωνιῶν αἱ ἀναλογίαι ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις τέσσαρσιν ἀριθμοῖς εὐρίσκονται.

B. Theon of Smyrna, p. 57, l. 11 – p. 59, l. 3 Hiller (quoting Adrastus; cf. Barker, 1989, p. 210): ἀρκείτω δ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι διὰ τοῦ μήκους τῶν χορδῶν δηλῶσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κανόνος. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μιᾷ χορδῇ καταμετρηθείσης εἰς τέσσαρας ἴσας ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ὅλης φθόγγος τῷ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν ἐν λόγῳ γενόμενος ἐπιτρίτῳ συμφωνήσῃ διὰ τεσσάρων, τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο, τουτέστι τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμισείας, ἐν λόγῳ γενόμενος διπλασίῳ συμφωνήσῃ διὰ πασῶν, τῷ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους γενόμενος ἐν λόγῳ τετραπλασίῳ συμφωνήσῃ δις διὰ πασῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν φθόγγος πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δύο γενόμενος ἐν ἡμιολίῳ συμφωνήσῃ διὰ πέντε, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους γενόμενος ἐν λόγῳ τριπλασίῳ συμφωνήσῃ διὰ πασῶν καὶ διὰ πέντε. ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ἐννέα διαμετρηθῇ ἡ χορδή, ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς ὅλης φθόγγος πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν ἐν λόγῳ ἐπογδῶ τὸ τονιαῖον περιέξει διάστημα.

πάσας δὲ τὰς συμφωνίας περιέχει ἡ τετρακτὺς. συνέστησε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν α' καὶ β' καὶ γ' καὶ δ'. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς ἔστιν ἡ τε διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνία καὶ ἡ διὰ πέντε καὶ ἡ διὰ πασῶν, καὶ ὁ ἐπίτритος λόγος καὶ ἡμιόλιος καὶ διπλάσιος καὶ τριπλάσιος καὶ τετραπλάσιος.

C. Vid. also Kucharski, 1952.

²¹ Xenocr. fr. 9 Heinze = 87 Isnardi-Parente, *ap.* Porph. *In Harm.*, pp. 30, 1 – 31, 21 Düring, esp. p. 30, 1-3: Γράφει δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης περὶ τούτων ἐν τῇ Μουσικῇ εἰσαγωγῇ ταῦτα· «Πυθαγόρας, ὡς φησι Ξενοκράτης, εὗρισκε καὶ τὰ ἐν μουσικῇ διαστήματα οὐ χωρὶς ἀριθμοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἔχοντα. It is doubtful whether Porphyry was quoting Heraclides Ponticus (cf. Heinze, 1892, 6, n. 2; Isnardi Parente, 1982, 314; Wehrli, 1969, 113, and Burkert, 1962, 380-2 of the English version). Zeller, ⁶1919-⁵1923, II, 15, p. 1036, n. 1 (although cf. I, 509, n.); Jan, 1895-9, 53 ss., and 135 ss., and Waerden, 1943, 192, admitted that the Heraclides quoted by Porphyry was Heraclides Ponticus. On Pythagoras discovery of the division of vibrating strings, cf. also D. L., 8, 12 (μάλιστα δὲ σχολάσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν περὶ τὸ ἀριθμητικὸν εἶδος αὐτῆς· τὸν τε κανόνα τὸν ἐκ μᾶς χορδῆς εὐρεῖν); Proclus attributed such a discovery to the Pythagoreans (*In Tim.*, vol. 2, p. 174, lines 23-5 Diehl: οἱ μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόρειοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν, ὥς τὴν τοῦ κανόνος κατατομὴν ἀνηυρηκότες).

²² Besides the interpretation that we support here, the reader may want to check Delcourt, ¹1955, 250-2.

²³ Vid. Boyancé, 1951, 421, and Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Excerpta*, 7, p. 279 Jan (ἡ πρώτη τετρακτὺς τὴν τῶν συμφωνιῶν πηγὴν ἔχουσα ἀναφαινομένην τῶν ζ η θ ι β, ὑπάτης τε καὶ μέσης καὶ νήτης καὶ παραμέσης ἔχουσα λόγον καὶ τὸν ἐπόγδοον περιλαμβάνουσα. ὑπάτη μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ζ ἀριθμόν,

μέση δὲ κατὰ τὸν η, νήτη δὲ κατὰ τὸν ιβ, παραμέση δὲ κατὰ τὸν θ. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ γδοὺς ἐν τῷ η καὶ θ ἐμφαίνεται).

²⁴ Vid. Boyancé, 1951, 422, and Martianus Capella, I, 11-12: *Inter haec mira spectacula Fortunarumque cursus motusque, nemorum etiam susurrantibus flabris canora modulatio melico quodam crepitabat appulsu. Nam eminentiora prolixarum arborum culmina perindeque distenta acuto sonitu resultabant. Quidquid vero terrae confine ac propinquum ramis adclinibus fuerat, gravitas rauca quatiebat. At media ratis per annexa succentibus duplis ac sesquialteris nec non etiam sesquiteritiis, sesquioctavis etiam sine discretione iuncturis, licet intervenirent limmata, concinebant. Ita fiebat ut nemus illud harmoniam totam superumque carmen modulationum congruentia personaret. 12. Quod quidem exponente Cyllenio Virtus edidicit etiam in caelo orbes parili ratione aut concentus edere aut succentibus convenire. Nec mirum quod Apollinis silva ita rata modificatione congrueret, cum caeli quoque orbes idem Delius moduletur in sole hincque esse quod illic Phoebus et hic vocitetur Auricomus.* Cf. also Boyancé, 1966 b, 101-2. Still in the seventeenth century, Athanasius Kircher wrote about consonant sounds yielded by the wind blowing through the trees, and similar phenomena (cf. Kircher, 1650, 373, and Godwin, 1993 b, 340 of the Spanish version).

²⁵ Cf. Boyancé, 1951, 423-4; the word *harmonía* meaning “octave” is found in Philolaus, fr. 6b Huffman (transmitted by Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Harm.*, 9, 1, p. 252 Jan), quoted below, n. 29.

²⁶ Cf. Boyancé, 1951, 424; *eiusd.*, 1966 b, 103, and Aristotle, fr. 908 Gigon, transmitted by Ps. Plutarch, *De musica*, 1139b 6 – 1139c 1 (‘Ὅτι δὲ σεμνὴ ἡ ἀρμονία καὶ θεῖόν τι καὶ μέγα, Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Πλάτωνος μαθητὴς ταυτὶ λέγει· ἡ δ’ ἀρμονία ἐστὶν οὐρανία, τὴν φύσιν ἔχουσα θεῖαν καὶ καλὴν καὶ δαιμονίαν· τετραμερὴς δὲ τῇ δυνάμει πεφυκυῖα, δύο μεσότητος ἔχει, ἀριθμητικὴν τε καὶ ἀρμονικὴν, φαίνεται τε τὰ μέρη αὐτῆς καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ αἱ ὑπεροχαὶ κατ’ ἀριθμὸν καὶ ἰσομετρίαν· ἐν γὰρ δυσὶ τετραχόρδοις ῥυθμίζεται τὰ μέλη.’ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ῥητά). The Ps-Plutarch explains this as a reference to the four strings of the “Nicomachean” *tetraktys*: συνεστάναι δ’ αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα ἔλεγεν ἐκ μερῶν ἀνομοίων, συμφωνούντων μέντοι πρὸς ἄλληλα, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς μεσότητος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμητικὸν λόγον συμφωνεῖν. τὸν γὰρ νέατον πρὸς τὸν ὑπάτον ἐκ διπλασίου λόγου ἡρμοσμένον τὴν διὰ πασῶν συμφωνίαν ἀποτελεῖν. ἔχει γάρ, ὡς προείπομεν, τὸν νέατον δώδεκα μονάδων, τὸν δ’ ὑπάτον ἑξ, τὴν δὲ παραμέσην, συμφωνοῦσαν πρὸς ὑπάτην καθ’ ἡμιόλιον λόγον, ἐννέα μονάδων· τῆς δὲ μέσης ὀκτὼ εἶναι μονάδας ἐλέγομεν (Ps. Plutarch, *De musica*, 1139c 1-10; cf. Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Excerpta*, 7, p. 279 Jan, quoted above, n. 23).

²⁷ We shall come back to this problem in III. 3. C. 2.

²⁸ A. The Platonic *tetraktys* is described by Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 1017d 4 – e 1: ἡ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐκκειμένων ἀριθμῶν τετρακτὺς ἐντελεστέραν ἔσχηκε τὴν γένεσιν, τῶν μὲν ἀρτίων ἀρτίοις διαστήμασι τῶν δὲ περιττῶν περιττοῖς πολλαπλασιασθέντων· περιέχει δὲ τὴν μὲν μονάδα, κοινὴν οὖσαν ἀρχὴν ἀρτίων καὶ περιττῶν, τῶν δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῇ τὰ μὲν δύο καὶ τρία πρῶτους ἐπιπέδους, τὰ δὲ τέτταρα καὶ ἐννέα πρῶτους τετραγώνους, τὰ δ’ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσιεπτὰ πρῶτους κύβους ἐν ἀριθμοῖς, ἕξω λόγου τῆς μονάδος τιθεμένης.

B. Platonic Sirens and Platonic *tetraktys* are linked by Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 1029c 3 – d 1: ὁ δὲ Πλάτων δηλὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ὅξυ προσλαμβάνων· λέγει γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ (617b) τῶν ὀκτὼ σφαιρῶν ἐκάστην περιφέρειν [εἶτ’] ἐπ’ αὐτῇ Σειρήνα βεβηκυῖαν· ἄδειν δὲ πάσας ἓνα ἐκάστην τόνον ἰείσας, ἐκ δὲ πασῶν κεράννυσθαι μίαν ἀρμονίαν. αὗται δ’ ἀνιέμεναι τὰ θεῖα εἴρουσι καὶ κατὰδουσι τῆς ἱερᾶς περιόδου καὶ χορείας ὀκτάχορδον ἐμμέλειαν· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διπλασίων καὶ τριπλασίων ὅροι λόγων, ἐκατέρω προσαριθμουμένης μερίδι τῆς μονάδος.

²⁹ Cf. Philolaus, fr. 6 Huffman, *ap.* Stob. 1, 21, 7d (περὶ δὲ φύσιος καὶ ἀρμονίας ὧδε ἔχει· ἃ μὲν ἐστὼ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰδῖος ἔσσα καὶ αὐτὰ μὲν ἃ φύσις θέαν γὰ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνδέχεται γινώσιν πλέον γὰ ἢ ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν οὐθὲν τῶν ἐόντων καὶ γιγνωσκόμενον ὑφ' ἀμῶν γὰ γενέσθαι μὴ ὑπαρχούσας τὰς ἐστοῦς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστα ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τῶν περαινόντων καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταὶ ἀρχαὶ ὑπάρχον οὐχ ὁμοῖαι οὐδ' ὁμόφυλοι ἔσσαι, ἥδη ἀδύνατον ἦεκα αὐταῖς κοσμηθῆναι, εἰ μὴ ἀρμονία ἐπεγένετο ὠτινιῶν ἅδε τρόπῳ ἐγένετο. τὰ μὲν ὧν ὁμοῖα καὶ ὁμόφυλα ἀρμονίας οὐδὲν ἐπεδέοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀνόμοια μὴδὲ ὁμόφυλα μὴδὲ ἰσοταγῇ ἀνάγκα ταὶ τοιαύται ἀρμονίαι συγκεκλείσθαι, οἷαι μέλλοντι ἐν κόσμῳ κατέχεσθαι.

ἀρμονίας δὲ μέγεθος ἐστὶ συλλαβὰ καὶ δι' ὀξειᾶν· τὸ δὲ δι' ὀξειᾶν μείζον τὰς συλλαβὰς ἐπογδόωι. ἔστι γὰρ ἀπὸ ὑπάτας ἐπὶ μέσαν συλλαβὰ, ἀπὸ δὲ μέσας ἐπὶ νεάταν δι' ὀξειᾶν, ἀπὸ δὲ νεάτας ἐς τρίταν συλλαβὰ, ἀπὸ δὲ τρίτας ἐς ὑπάταν δι' ὀξειᾶν· τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῳ μέσας καὶ τρίτας ἐπὶ γόδοον· ἃ δὲ συλλαβὰ ἐπίτριτον, τὸ δὲ δι' ὀξειᾶν ἡμιόλιον, τὸ διὰ πασῶν δὲ διπλόον. οὕτως ἀρμονία πέντε ἐπὶ γόδοα καὶ δύο διέσεις, δι' ὀξειᾶν δὲ τρία ἐπὶ γόδοα καὶ διέσεις, συλλαβὰ δὲ δύο ἐπὶ γόδοα καὶ διέσεις [this last paragraph about harmony is preserved by Nicomachus of Gerasa, pp. 252-3 Jan]).

³⁰ On the antiquity of the Pythagorean aphorisms, Hölk, 1894, 31-3 (whose strongest argument is the parallel between the commandment transmitted, alongside with other Pythagorean *akoúsmata*, by Iamblichus, *VP*, 18, 84 (γυναικα οὐ δεῖ διώκειν τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἰκέτις γάρ· διὸ καὶ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀγόμεθα, καὶ ἡ λῆψις διὰ δεξιᾶς), and Aristotle, *Oeconomica*, 1344a 8-13 (Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν [νόμοι πρὸς γυναῖκα] [καὶ] τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀδικοῖτο. Τοῦθ' ὑφηγεῖται δὲ [ὁ] καὶ ὁ κοινὸς νόμος· καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἰκέτιν καὶ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἡγμένην ὡς ἥκιστα δεῖν [δοκεῖν] ἀδικεῖν· ἀδικία δὲ ἀνδρὸς αἰ θύραζε συνουσίαι γιγνόμεναι); Delatte, 1915, 259, 307, and 308 (arguing from the dialogic form, typical of early wisdom literature; cf. Burkert, 1972, 188, and Riedweg, 2002, 103, who recall the case of the Seven Sages; cf. Plutarch, *Septem sapientium convivium*, 153c); Burkert, 1972, 166-192 (= 1962, 150 ff.: for instance, Anaximander of Miletus the Younger, to judge from Xenophon, *Smp.*, 3, 6, worked about allegories and the *Suda*, s. v. (= α, 1987 = *F Gr Hist* 9 T 1 = 58 C 6 DK), attributes him an interpretation of the Pythagorean symbols, so they may go back to pre-classical or archaic times); West, 1967, 11-14, esp. p. 12; West, 1992, 224, and Riedweg, 2002, 61, 91, and 94.

³¹ Cf. West, 1967, 12, and 1981, 127. For the Pythagorean parallel of the animistic conception of the sound, cf. Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras*, 41, quoting Aristotle as his source (cf. Aristotle's fr. 196 Rose, 159 Gigon), and according to whom the sound of a gong is the voice of a daimon abiding in it: τὸν δ' ἐκ χαλκοῦ κρουομένου γινόμενον ἦχον φωνὴν εἶναί τινος τῶν δαιμόνων ἐναπειλημμένου τῷ χαλκῷ. Another Pythagorean aphorism, with which we shall deal in chapter II.4., says that the Pleiads are the lyre of the Muses (Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras*, 41 = Aristotle, fr. 196 Rose = 159 Gigon), in which we may see another mythical personification of sound. As to the Polynesian and Surinam's Aborigines, cf. MacCulloch, 1917, 6, and West, 1967, 12, quoting Dodds, 1951, 175, n. 119. We do not want anybody to find offensive this analogy between the ancient Greek thinkers and the Polynesian Aborigines. We are not suggesting that the ancient Greeks were "savages", but perhaps that the so-called "savages" deserve some more respect than they are usually awarded.

³² West, 1967, 12.

³³ Cf. Pl. *R.*, 530 d 6-9, quoted in n. 18, and Arist. *Metaph.*, 986a 2-3: τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀριθμόν.

³⁴ Ten heavenly bodies in the Pythagorean cosmology: Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 986a 8-12 (ἐπειδὴ τέλειον ἡ δεκάς εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ πᾶσαν περιελιφέναι τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν φύσιν, καὶ τὰ φερόμενα κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν δέκα μὲν εἶναι φασιν, ὄντων δὲ ἐννέα μόνον τῶν φανερῶν διὰ τοῦτο δεκάτην τὴν ἀντίχθονα ποιοῦσιν); for the *tetraktys*, vid. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, VII, 94-5 (τετρακτὺν δὲ

ἀριθμόν τινα, ὃς ἐκ τεσσάρων τῶν πρώτων ἀριθμῶν συγκείμενος τὸν τελειότατον ἀπήρτιζεν, ὥσπερ τὸν δέκα· ἐν γὰρ καὶ δύο καὶ τρία καὶ τέσσαρα δέκα γίνεται. ἔστι τε οὗτος ὁ ἀριθμὸς πρώτη τετρακτύς, πηγὴ δὲ αἰνάου φύσεως λέλεκται παρόσον κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ σύμπας κόσμος κατὰ ἀρμονίαν διοικεῖται, ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία σύστημά ἐστι τριῶν συμφωνιῶν, τῆς τε διὰ τεσσάρων καὶ τῆς διὰ πέντε καὶ τῆς διὰ πασῶν, τούτων δὲ τῶν τριῶν συμφωνιῶν αἱ ἀναλογίαι ἐν τοῖς προειρημένοις τέσσαρσιν ἀριθμοῖς εὐρίσκονται).

³⁵ On the other hand, Plato considered seven heavenly regions in his *Timaeus*, 38c (ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα, ἐπὶ κλινὴν ἔχοντα πλανητά, εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου γέγονεν· σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων ποιήσας ὁ θεὸς ἔθηκεν εἰς τὰς περιφορὰς ἃς ἡ θατέρου περίοδος ἦεν, ἐπτὰ οὕσας ὄντα ἐπτὰ). It is well known that Plato was not trying to construct a system, but to explore problems and possible answers to them.

³⁶ Sirens as embodiments of the stars' sounds: Theon of Smyrna, p. 147 Hiller (ἔνιοι δὲ σειρήνας οὐ τοὺς ἀστέρας λέγεσθαί φασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων φορᾶς γινομένους ἤχους καὶ φθόγγους ἡρμοσμένους καὶ συμφῶνους, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἡρμοσμένην ἀποτελεῖσθαι φωνήν).

³⁷ According to Zeller & Mondolfo, ²1950, 335-45, and Boyancé, 1966 b, 91, we can say that, generally speaking, Plato would have received the influence of the Pythagoreans, more specifically of Archytas and his circle; but Plato's philosophy would also exert its own influence on doctrines attributed to Pythagoreans younger than the author of the *Republic*.

c) Were the Platonic Sirens celestial soul-birds?

c. 1. Introduction

Weicker, assuming that the Sirens were souls, suggested that they were also transferred to the heavens and became bearers of the music of the spheres as soon as the ancients began to think of the celestial realms as the abode of the blest.³⁸ This observation has been developed by Wedner, who suggests that the popular identification between souls and stars led to that between Sirens and stars, and thus the Sirens become linked with the harmony of the spheres.³⁹ Such hypotheses are worth considering, because they hint at the Other World, and it is an eschatological apocalypse (the myth of Er) what provides the context in which we first find the Sirens singing the music of the cosmos.

Were the Sirens souls? Homer did not suggest it, but the human-headed birds representing the Sirens in depictions of the Odyssean episode may be interpreted in other contexts as images of the soul.⁴⁰ This may be seen in Greek art since before Plato, and of course by Plato's time and later, so the Platonic Sirens could be interpreted as souls. Let us examine first the evidence suggesting a link between Sirens and souls.

c. 2. Otherworldly Sirens

The link between Sirens and the Other World is already implicit in the *Odyssey*, and not only because of the ruinous effects of their song. According to this poem, the Sirens abide in a meadow on an island. Both settings are also present in the imaginary topography of the Other World: the asphodel mead haunted by the shades of heroes is

already mentioned in the *Odyssey*; with respect to the otherworldly islands, the Greeks believed that certain deceased heroes went to the so called “Isles of the Blest,” described as a paradise by Hesiod, Pindar, and Plutarch.⁴¹ As to the heavenly Sirens, it has been suggested that as soon as the Pythagoreans thought that the Isles of the Blest were the Sun and the Moon, it was also possible to transfer the Sirens to the heavens, as Plato did. It can be argued that the island of the Sirens did not belong to those of the Blest nor was it paradisaical (their only paradise-like feature was the Sirens’ song, but we know of their ruinous effects, at least in Homer); moreover, Plato and his heavenly Sirens are far earlier than the evidence identifying the Isles of the Blest with the Sun and the Moon. We know of no identifying evidence from the age of Plato, Plutarch being the first author who describes the heavenly bodies as isles. But the belief in the heavenly realm as abode of the souls was, however, already widely accepted in the Classical period: for example, an epitaph for the dead at Poteidaia, dating from 432 B. C. E., states that “the aether received their souls, the earth their bodies,” and Sophocles and especially Euripides refer quite often to the ethereal regions as the destiny of the souls.⁴² Thus, the Pythagorean identification of the Isles of the Blest with the Sun and the Moon might have been current by Plato’s time. It would be another example of the same myth-making that placed the Sirens on the edges of the celestial hemisphaeria.

The connection of the Sirens with the Other World, perhaps only implicit in the Homeric poems, became obvious when Sophocles wrote that the Sirens utter aloud the songs (or the laws?) of Hades, and when Euripides’ Helen invokes them for help to present the dead with the adequate funeral song. But as De Rachewiltz has rightly pointed out, “these dirges have nothing in common with the spellbinding song of the Odyssean Sirens, nor is there anything in Sophocles to justify the notion of heavenly singing in some blissful afterlife.”⁴³ It is possible that the funerary Sirens adopted the

beauty of the song of the Homeric ones when the image of the Other World changed: from the dark and miserable place it was in Homeric poems, it became a place where there could be rewards and bliss for the good and pious people, and punishments for the evil; it must be added that music was very often referred to among the pleasures to be enjoyed by the righteous ones in the afterlife.⁴⁴ That was probably also the occasion on which the human-headed birds of funerary art (that we shall deal with soon) adopted the generic name of the Homeric Sirens. In Plato's *Cratylus*, the realm of Hades is also the abode of the Sirens; likewise, Ovid features them with Persephone when this goddess was gathering flowers on the mead from which Hades was to abduct her.⁴⁵ Last, although they are not called "Sirens," birds with human face appear as messengers of the Other World in one of the versions of the *Historia Alexandri Magni*.⁴⁶

We may turn now from the literary sources to the iconography of the Sirens in ancient art. There are Mycenaean images of birds with human heads (cf. our pl. 6). They might represent souls, if we remember the Homeric passages alluding to the flight of the souls or comparing the "voice" of the souls with that of certain birds.⁴⁷

It has been suggested that the entrance of the Egyptian soul-bird into Greek art takes place in a Rhodian Late Geometric bull-mouthed oinochoe allegedly in the British Museum (A34), where we see a bird with human male bearded head.⁴⁸ Other bearded Sirens can be seen in a flat-bottomed Corinthian *aryballos* from *ca.* 600-575 B. C. E., attributed to the Otterlo Painter, now in the Harvard University Art Museums (1950.162; our pl. 7), and on the Corinthian round-bodied pyxis at the J. Paul Getty Museum (Malibu, 88.AA.105), probably painted around 570 B. C. E., attributed to the Chimaera painter (our pl. 8).



Pl. 6: Mycenaean specimens of human-headed birds.

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Pl. 7: A bearded Siren on a Corinthian *aryballos*

(<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/image?img=Perseus:image:1990.01.1260>,

May 4th 2013).



Pl. 8: Bearded Siren on a Corinthian round-bodied pyxis

(<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/image?img=Perseus:image:1990.05.0088>,
August 12th 2013).

According to K. Marót, the rare male “Sirens” with bearded head are certainly not the Homeric Sirens, but merely images of the souls.⁴⁹ Besides that, female Sirens as human-headed birds often appear in funerary art. For example, Gropengiesser mentions a *pinax* in the Berlin-Charlottenburg Museum that shows a bird with human head flying over a cave where a man is digging (our pl. 9); on another *pinax* in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, we see a Siren under the deathbed of a young lady, surrounded by mourners and over which three geese fly (our pl. 10). On a Corinthian *aryballos* in Tübingen, we see a recumbent human figure under the wings of a Siren, who seems to be on the brink of flying (our pl. 11).



Pl. 9: Human-headed bird flying over a funerary cave

(*Pinax* from Berlin-Charlottenburg,

with permission of «Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte»).



Pl. 10: *Pinax* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

(Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



Pl. 11: A Siren on the brink of flying over a deceased person
(Tübingen, Institut für klassische Archäologie, Inv. S. / 10. 1264).

These Sirens may be what Gropengiesser calls “Todesdämonen.”⁵⁰ These spirits of the realm of the dead are not necessarily malevolent: we see winged Sirens in rather paradisaical environments, dancing and playing instruments alongside with winged human figures in a Dionysiac otherworldly banquet, on a bowl from Cyrene (Louvre, inv. N° E667, c. 565 B. C. E.; our pl. 12) and on the tomb of Metrodorus of Chios.⁵¹ In such contexts, those Sirens might be interpreted as hinting to the bliss expected by the righteous ones in the Other World, or more exactly as the Muses of the Other World, as Buschor did:⁵² in other words, they seem to play in those otherworldly banquets the same role of the Muses in the feasts of the Olympian deities. A literary source of the same time as the tomb of Metrodorus of Chios alludes to a Siren on a funerary stele, and a stele from the Peiraieus, dating roughly from the first century B. C. E., shows a little Siren playing a cithara.⁵³



Pl. 12: Sirens in an otherworldly feast.

There are many other specimens of Sirens playing instruments on funerary monuments spread over the whole of ancient Greece.⁵⁴ Their statues there may be votive offerings, and they may be explained as souls but perhaps also as mourners, as they are in some passages from tragedy and choral lyric poetry.⁵⁵ An example of a mourning Siren might be the one mentioned by Eva Hofstetter, found at the Athenian Kerameikos, dating from *ca.* 380-70 B. C. E., that is, 30-40 years after the *première* of Euripides' *Helen*, whose heroine asks the Sirens for their song to be a model for her *thrênos*. The Siren on the tomb of Sophocles (died in 406 B. C. E.) might have been an artistic reflex of Helen's invocation, in Euripides' play.⁵⁶

As to Sirens representing souls, an Attic red-figured crater dating from *ca.* 500 B. C. E., now at the British Museum (BM 447) shows the death of Procris, over whom a human-headed bird is flying: perhaps this is the soul of Procris (our pl. 13).⁵⁷



Pl. 13: Death of Procris, above whom a human-headed bird hovers.

There is also a white-ground *lékythos* on which a Siren plays the lyre on the top of a pillar (our pl. 14):⁵⁸



Pl. 14: Siren playing the lyre on a funerary pillar.

Another Siren may be seen on top of a pillar on a relief from Xanthos (pl. 15):



Pl. 15: Siren on top of pillar, relief from Xanthos.

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Wedner has pointed out that the function of those pillars was to offer the souls a place to rest, and Delatte argues that the composition of the *lékythos* in pl. 14 is so close to that of other funerary scenes in which the dead are playing the lyre near their tombs that we may assume that this Siren, too, represents a soul.⁵⁹

That a sepulchral Siren might represent a soul is highly likely when the tomb belongs to a poet or orator.⁶⁰ We have already mentioned the tomb of Sophocles, and Plutarch recalls that there was a Siren on the tomb of Isocrates.⁶¹ It makes sense for a

Siren to represent Isocrates, because the power of the word of poets and orators was metaphorically called a “siren.”⁶² But we have also noted images of the Sirens not found on tombs of orators or poets. In this connection we can remember the terracotta group from Tarentum, roughly dating from the end of the fifth century-beginning of the fourth century B. C. E. (now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu), where we can see a citharist between two women with bird legs (probably two sirens), one of whom seems to attentively listen to the musician, while the posture of the other suggests that she is singing or reciting (cf. pl. 16). Might those sirens of the Malibu group represent souls? In the next section of this chapter we are going to discuss the iconography of the soul in ancient art, and on the basis of the data that we shall present there, we shall see that the sirens of the Malibu group could represent souls as well. Then who could be the musician? As we shall see in the next section, different representations of souls could appear in the same scene: in the Malibu group, we find two sirens, who probably represent souls already abiding in the Otherworld, and a citharist, who might represent another soul, this one being a newcomer to the abode of the blest⁶³. We probably are before a scene of intellectual life in the afterlife⁶⁴, where the deceased makes music, a Siren sings or recites, and another Siren listens to the performance.

All this implies that the art of Plato’s time placed Sirens in contexts where they might represent souls, although they could have other meanings beyond that.⁶⁵

Transferring these beings to the heavens could be easy, since they had wings.⁶⁶ Plato himself might not have imagined the soul as a bird, but he often refers to the flight of the souls and imagines them riding on winged chariots in another eschatological myth (that of the *Phaedrus*) that places a transitory abode of the blest in the heavens.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, for Plato, the souls do not become Sirens, and we do not find anything in the myth of Er to prove that those celestial Sirens were souls. For Plato they seem to

have a divine status akin to that of the stars,⁶⁸ but they might have represented souls in Plato's time, even in the hypothetical Pythagorean sources of the myth of Er.



Pl. 16: A musician between two Sirens, terracotta group from Tarentum (V-IV B.C.E.),
now at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

For interpreting those Sirens as images of the soul, further support can be found through a study of how the ancients imagined the soul. In fact, Sirens and souls often shared an important iconographic trait: the wings.

³⁸ Weicker, 1902, 58.

³⁹ Wedner, 1994, 68.

⁴⁰ Cf. Marót, 1960, 132-3, and our section III. 3. b. One of the main problems of every research about the Sirens in general is that of the relation between what Homer says (or does not say) about them, and the Sirens as birds with human torso, as represented in funerary art. We know no convincing answer to this question, which we cannot deal with here. Cf. the proposals of Marót, 1960, 129 ff., and esp. 149-151; Rossi, 1970, 474, who suggests (p. 463) that the Homeric Sirens and those of funerary art are independent, and Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 18, who follows the

hypothesis of Nilsson, ³1967, I, 228: for this last scholar, the human-headed birds could be adopted to represent demonic beings whose features had not been described by Homer.

⁴¹ A. Sirens on a mead: *Odyssey*, 12, 44-5 (ἀλλά τε Σειρήνες λιγυρῇ θέλγουσιν ἀοιδῇ / ἥμεναι ἐν λειμῶνι); cf. *Od.*, 12, 158-9 (Σειρήνων μὲν πρῶτον ἀνώγει θεσπεσιῶν / φθόγγον ἀλεύασθαι καὶ λειμῶν' ἀνθεμόεντα). Thereafter, *scholion* to Lycophron's *Alexandra*, v. 815 (τὸν λειμῶνα τῶν σειρήνων). For the asphodel mead, cf. *Odyssey*, 11, 539, and 24, 13; on this topic, vid. Gresseth, 1970, 208-9, and Velasco López, 2001. B. Sirens on an island: *Odyssey*, 12, 167 (νῆσον Σειρήνοϊν) and 201 (ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν); *Suda*, σ, 280 (ἐν νησίῳ καθεζόμεναι).

C. The Isles of the Blest are described by:

C. 1. Hesiod's *Works and Days*, vv. 168-173: τοῖς δὲ δίχ' ἀνθρώπων βίοντα καὶ ἦθε' ὀπάσσας / Ζεὺς Κρονίδης κατένασσε πατὴρ ἐς πείρατα γαίης. / καὶ τοὶ μὲν ναίουσιν ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες / ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὀκεανὸν βαθυδίνην, / ὄλβιοι ἥρωες, τοῖσιν μελιηδέα καρπὸν / τρὶς ἔτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα.

C. 2. Pindar, *Second Olympian Ode*, 61-73: ἴσαις δὲ νύκτεσσιν αἰεῖ, / ἴσαις δ' ἀμέραις ἄλιον ἔχοντες, ἀπονέστερον / ἐσλοὶ δέκονται βίοντα, οὐ χθόνα ταράσσοντες ἐν χερὸς ἀκμῇ / οὐδὲ' πόντιον ὕδωρ / κεινὰν παρὰ δαίταν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ μὲν τιμίῳ / θεῶν οἵτινες ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις ἄδακρυν νέμονται / Αἰῶνα, τοὶ δ' ἀπροσόρατον ὀκχέοντι πόνον. / ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἐστρίς / ἐκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν / ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων / νᾶσον ὠκεανίδες / αὖραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει, / τὰ μὲν χερσὸθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δεινδρέων, ὕδωρ δ' ἄλλα φέρβει.

C. 3. Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 8: Ἐνδόντος δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος, φερόμενος νήσοις τισὶν ἐναυλίζεται σποράσιν ἀνδρῶν, κάκειθεν ἄρας καὶ διεκβαλὼν τὸν Γαδειραῖον πορθμὸν, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἐπιβάλλει τῆς Ἰβηρίας, μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ Βαίτιος ἐκβολῶν, ὃς εἰς τὴν Ἀτλαντικὴν ἐκφερόμενος θάλατταν ὄνομα τῇ περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρέσχεν. Ἐνταῦθα ναυταὶ τινες ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ, νέον ἐκ τῶν Ἀτλαντικῶν νήσων ἀναπεπλευκότες, αἱ δύο μὲν εἰσι, λεπτῷ παντάπασι πορθμῷ διαιρούμεναι, μυρίους δ' ἀπέχουσαι Λιβύης σταδίου, καὶ ὀνομάζονται Μακάρων. ὄμβροις δὲ χρώμεναι μετρίοις σπανίως, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα πνεύμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ δροσοβόλοις, οὐ μόνον ἀροῦν καὶ φυτεύειν παρέχουσιν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πίονα χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καρπὸν αὐτοφυῆ φέρουσιν, ἀποχρῶντα πλήθει καὶ γλυκύτητι βόσκειν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ πραγματείας σχολάζοντα δῆμον. ἀῆρ δ' ἄλυπος ὥρων τε κράσει καὶ μεταβολῇ μετρίότητι κατέχει τὰς νήσους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνθένδε τῆς γῆς ἀποπνέοντες ἔξω βορέαι καὶ ἀπηνιῶται διὰ μῆκος ἐκπεσόντες εἰς τόπον ἀχανῆ διασπείρονται καὶ προαπολείπουσι, πελάγιοι δὲ περιρρέοντες ἀργέσται καὶ ζέφυροι, βληχροὺς μὲν ὑετοὺς καὶ σποράδας ἐκ θαλάττης ἐπάγοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ νοτεραῖς αἰθρίαις ἐπιψύχοντες, ἡσυχῇ τρέφουσιν· ὥστε μέχρι τῶν βαρβάρων διῆχθαι πίστιν ἰσχυράν, αὐτόθι τὸ Ἠλύσιον εἶναι πεδίον καὶ τὴν τῶν εὐδαιμόνων οἴκησιν, ἣν Ὅμηρος ὕμνησε (*Od.* 4, 563 sqq.).

B. 4. Cf. also Kaibel, 1878, N° 649, and Martínez Hernández, 1994 and 1994b. On the Sirens being supposedly able to guide the souls to those islands, cf. Picard, 1938, 148.

⁴² A. The Sun and the Moon are said to be the Isles of the Blest by a Pythagorean aphorism quoted by Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 18, 82 (τί ἐστὶν αἱ μακάρων νῆσοι; ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη), right before the one identifying the Delphic oracle with *tetraktys* and harmony, in which the Sirens abide. On the heavenly Muses and Sirens in this context, vid., besides the sources discussed above, Boyancé, 1946, esp. p. 4, and Breglia Pulci Doria, 1994, esp. p. 63. So far as we know, the first author suggesting that the stars were the Isles of the Blest is Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 590c (νήσους δὲ λαμπομένας μαλακῷ πυρὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐξαμβιούσας ἄλλην ἄλλοτε χροᾶν ὥσπερ βαφὴν ἅμα τῷ φωτὶ ποικιλλομένῳ κατὰ τὰς μεταβολάς. φαίνεσθαι δὲ πλήθει μὲν ἀναρίθμους

μεγέθει δ' ὑπερφυεῖς, οὐκ ἴσας δὲ πάσας ἀλλ' ὁμοίως κυκλοτερεῖς); cf. Cumont, 1942, 183, and Burkert, 1962, 364 of the English version, n. 75: for the moon, the first author alluding to it as an Isle of the Blest is the first century B. C. E. historian Castor of Rhodos, quoted by Plutarch (*Quaestiones romanae*, 76, 282a = Castor of Rhodos, *FGrH*, 250 F 16 Jacoby: διὰ τί τὰς ἐν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι σεληνίδας οἱ διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες εὐγενεῖαι φοροῦσιν; πότερον, ὥς Κάστωρ φησί, σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦτο τῆς λεγομένης οἰκίσεως ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην αὐθις αἱ ψυχαὶ τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ πόδας ἔξουσιν).

B. The epitaph for the dead in Potidea, dating from 432 B. C. E. (Lewis, Jeffery†, and Erxleben, 1994, 763 = *Inscriptiones Graecae* ³, I, 2, 1179: αἰθὴρ μὲν ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώματα δὲ χθών); epitaph from the Pireus (a little earlier than 350 B. C. E.; cf. Peek, 1955, Nr. 1755, and Hansen, 1983-9, II, 535: Εὐρυμάχου ψυχὴν | καὶ ὑπερφιάλος διανιοῖας / αἰθὴρ ὕψος ἔχει, σῶμα δὲ τύνβος | ὅδε); Epicharmus, fr. 245 Kaibel = 23 B 9 DK, *ap. Plut. Cons. Ap.*, 110a (συνεκρίθη καὶ διεκρίθη καὶ ἀπῆνθεν ὅθεν ἦνθε, / γὰ μὲν εἰς γὰν, πνεῦμ' ἄνω); Sophocles (*Ai.*, 1192-4: "Οφελε πρότερον αἰθέρα δῦ- / ναι μέγαν ἢ τὸν πολύκοινον "Αἰδαν / κείνος ἀνὴρ); Euripides, *Suppl.*, 531-4 (ἐάσατ' ἥδη γῆι καλυφθῆναι νεκρούς, / ὅθεν δ' ἔκαστον ἐς τὸ φῶς ἀφίκετο / ἐνταῦθ' ἀπελθεῖν, πνεῦμα μὲν πρὸς αἰθέρα, / τὸ σῶμα δ' ἐς γῆν) and 1139 (αἰθὴρ ἔχει νιν ἥδη); Euripides, *Erechtheus*, fr. 65, vv. 71-2 Austin = 20 Martínez Díez = 18 Carrara = 370 Kannicht, vv. 71-2, *ap. P. Sorb.* 2328, ed. Austin, 1967, esp. pp. 34-5 (ψυχὰι μὲν οἷν τῶνδ' οὐ βεβᾶσ' ["Αἰδ]ην πάρα, / εἰς δ' αἰθέρ' αὐτῶν πνεῦμ' ἐγὼ [κ]ατῳκίσα); E. *Hel.*, 1014-16 (ὁ νοῦς / τῶν κατθανόντων ζῆι μὲν οὐ, γνώμην δ' ἔχει / ἀθάνατον εἰς ἀθάνατον αἰθέρ' ἐμπεσών); E. fr. 839 Nauck = 839 Kannicht = E. *Chrysippos*, fr. 6 Jouan-Van Looy, esp. vv. 8-11 (*ap. Heraclit. All.*, 22, 11, and M. Ant. 7, 50: χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω / τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίης φύντ' εἰς γαίαν, / τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς / εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον) and E. fr. 971, 2 Nauck = 971 Kannicht (= *Phaethon*, fr. *incertum* 11 Jouan-Van Looy, *ap. Plut. De def. orac.*, 416d: ὁ δ' ἄρτι θάλλων σάρκα διοπετῆς ὅπως / ἀστήρ ἀπέσβη, πνεῦμ' ἀφείς ἐς αἰθέρα); *Or.*, 1683-5 (ἐγὼ δ' / Ἑλένην Ζηνὸς μελάθοις πελάσω, / λαμπρῶν ἄστρον πόλον ἐξανύσας); E. *Phoen.*, 674 ss. (αἵματος δ' ἔδευσε γαῖαν / ἃ νιν εὐαλίοις / δείξεν αἰθέρος πνοαῖς), 807b-11 (Σφίγγ' ἀπομουσοτάταισι σὺν ὠδαῖς, / ἃ ποτε Καδμογενὴ τετραβάμοσι χαλαῖς / τείχεσι χριμπτομένα φέρειν αἰθέρος εἰς ἄβατον φῶς / ἴγγεναν, ἂν† ὁ κατὰ χθονὸς "Αιδας / Καδμεῖοις ἐπιπέμπει), and 1216 (ἦν μὴ γε φεύγων ἐκφύγῃς πρὸς αἰθέρα). All this may suggest that the aphorism concerning the Isles of the Blest was already current in Plato's time.

⁴³ Cf. De Rachewiltz, 1987, 50-1. For the connexion between Sirens and the Other World, cf. Aasved, 1996, 385. Sirens and the songs of Hades, in S. fr. 861 Radt, *ap. Plu. Quaest. conv.*, IX, 14, 6, 2, 745 f 6-8: Σειρήνας εἰσαφικόμην, / Φόρκου κόρας, θροοῦντε τοὺς "Αιδου νόμους (on θροέω, not meaning "sing", what seems to exclude the translation of νόμοι as "songs", cf. *LSJ*, s. v., and Hofstetter, 1990, 22 and 315, n. 161 to p. 22, and Breglia Pulci Doria, 1987, 68. Weicker, 1902, 49, prefers to interpret νόμοι as "songs," but in that same page, n. 2, refers to the possibility of translating τοὺς "Αιδου νόμους as "die Hadesgesetze", the laws of Hades (cf. also Maaß, 1895, 270, n. 47 from p. 269). Gigante Lanzara, 1986, 47, translates θροοῦντε as "cantatrici", i. e., "singers".) Sirens as helpers for the human funeral song, in E. *Hel.*, 167-78: πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες, / παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι, / Σειρήνες, εἴθ' ἐμοῖς / ἴγχοις μόλοιτ' ἔχουσαι Λίβυν / λωτὸν ἢ σύριγγας ἢ / φόρμιγγας αἰλίνοις κακοῖς † / τοῖς ἐμοῖσι σύννοχα δάκρυα, / πάθει πάθεα, μέλεσι μέλεα, / μουσεῖα θρηνήμα- / σι ξυνωιδά, πέμψατε / Φερσέφασσα ἴφονία χάριτας† / ἵν' ἐπὶ δάκρυσιν παρ' ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ / μέλαθρα νύχια παιᾶνα / νέκυσιν ὀλομένους λάβῃ (on this passage, cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 20-1; Iriarte, 1992, 1 and 8, n. 5 to p. 1.)

⁴⁴ A. As evidence for the change in the conception of the other world, vid. Johnston, 1999, 18, note 48, and the following sources (besides, of course, Pl., R., 614 b 2 – 621 d 2, where we find the myth of Er we are currently discussing):

a) *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 480-2: ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὅπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· / ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίων / αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι;

b) Pi. fr. 129 Snell-Maehler, vv. 1-6, ap. Plut., *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 35, 120 C (τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω, / φοινικορόδοις τ' ἐν λειμώνεσσι προάστιον αὐτῶν· / καὶ λιβάνῳ σκιαρὸν καὶ χρυσοκάρποισι βεβριθός. / καὶ τοὶ μὲν ἵπποις γυμνασίοις τε, τοὶ δὲ πεσσοῖς, / τοὶ δὲ φορμίγγεσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δὲ σφισιν / εὐανθῆς ἅπας τέθαλεν ὄλβος);

c) Pi. fr. 137 Snell-Maehler, ap. Clem. Al., *Strom.*, 3, 3, 17, 2 (ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν [ἐ]κείνα [κοινὰ] εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόνα· / οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν, / οἶδεν δὲ διόσδοτον ἀρχάν).

d) A. *Eu.*, 273-5: μέγας γὰρ Ἄιδης ἐστὶν εὐθυνος βροτῶν / ἔνερθε χθονός, / δελτογράφῳ δὲ πάντ' ἐπωπαῖ φρενί.

e) E. *Alc.*, 743-6: χαίρε· πρόφρων σε χθονίος θ' Ἐρμῆς / Ἄιδης τε δέχοιτ'. εἰ δέ τι κάκει / πλέον ἔστ' ἀγαθοῖς, τούτων μετέχουσ' / Ἄιδου νύμφη παρεδρεύεις.

f) Ar. *Ra.*, 154-57: ἐντεῦθεν αὐλῶν τίς σε περιέεισιν πνοή, / ὅψει τε φῶς κάλλιστον ὥσπερ ἐνθάδε, / καὶ μυρρινῶνας καὶ θιάσους εὐδαίμονας / ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ κρότον χειρῶν πολύν.

g) Ar. *Ra.*, 447-53: χωρῶμεν εἰς πολυρρόδους / λειμῶνας ἀνθεμώδεις, / τὸν ἡμέτερον τρόπον, / τὸν καλλιχορώτατον / παίζοντες, ὃν ὄλβια / Μοῖραι ξυνάγουσιν. / μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος / καὶ φέγγος ἱερὸν ἐστίν, / ὅσοι μεμνημέθ' εὐ- / σεβῇ τε διήγομεν / τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους / καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας.

h) Pl. *Phd.*, 69 c 5-7: ὅτι ὃς ἂν ἀμύητος καὶ ἀτέλεστος εἰς Ἄιδου ἀφίκηται ἐν βορβόρῳ κείσεται, ὁ δὲ κεκαθαρμένος τε καὶ τετελεσμένος ἐκείσε ἀφικόμενος μετὰ θεῶν οἰκήσει.

i) Pl. *Phd.*, 81 a 4 – c 3: Οὐκοῦν οὕτω μὲν ἔχουσα εἰς τὸ ὅμοιον αὐτῇ τὸ αἰδὲς ἀπέρχεται, τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ φρόνιμον, οἷ ἀφικομένη ὑπάρχει αὐτῇ εὐδαίμονι εἶναι, πλάνης καὶ ἀνοίας καὶ φόβων καὶ ἀγρίων ἐρώτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀπηλλαγμένη, ὥσπερ δὲ λέγεται κατὰ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὡς ἀληθῶς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον μετὰ θεῶν διάγουσα;

j) Pl. *Phd.*, 114 b 6 – c 6: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἂν δόξωσι διαφερόντως πρὸς τὸ ὁσίως βιώνειν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τῶνδε μὲν τῶν τόπων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐλευθερούμενοί τε καὶ ἀπαλλαττό- (c.) μενοι ὥσπερ δεσμοτηρίων, ἄνω δὲ εἰς τὴν καθαρὰν οἴκησιν ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκίζόμενοι. τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι ἄνευ τε σωμάτων ζῶσι τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον, καὶ εἰς οἰκήσεις ἔτι τούτων καλλίους ἀφικνοῦνται, ἃς οὔτε ῥάδιον δηλῶσαι οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ἱκανὸς ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

k) Pl. *Grg.*, 523 a 5 – b 2: ἦν οὖν νόμος ὅδε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρόνου, καὶ αἰεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔστιν ἐν θεοῖς, τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως τὸν βίον διελθόντα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπόντα οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν.

l) Ps. Pl. *Ax.*, 371 c 5 – d 5: ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ ζῆν δαίμων ἀγαθὸς ἐπέπνευσεν, εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον οἰκίζονται, ἔνθα ἄφθονοι μὲν ὦραι παγκάρπου γονῆς βρῦουσιν, πηγαι δὲ ὑδάτων καθαρῶν ῥέουσιν, παντοῖοι δὲ λει μῶνες ἄνθεσι ποικίλοις ἐαριζόμενοι, διατριβαὶ δὲ φιλοσόφων καὶ θέατρα ποιητῶν καὶ κύκλιοι χοροὶ καὶ μουσικὰ ἀκούσματα, συμπόσιά τε εὐμελῆ καὶ εἰλαπῖναι αὐτοχορήγητοι, καὶ ἀκήρατος ἄλυσπια καὶ ἡδεῖα δίαίτα· οὔτε γὰρ χειμᾶ σφοδρὸν οὔτε θάλπος ἐγγίγνεται, ἀλλ' εὐκρατος ἀῆρ χεῖται ἀπαλαῖς ἡλίου ἀκτίσιν ἀνακινώμενος.

B. As evidence for the belief in the music of the other world, besides the texts b), g) and l) in the previous section of this note, cf.:

a) Verg. *Aen.*, VI, 644: *pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.*

b) *Ibid.*, VI, 656-7: *conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaue per herbam / vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis.*

c) Prop., IV, 7, 59-62: *Ecce coronato pars altera vecta phaselo, / mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas, / quae numerosa fides quaque aera rotunda Cybebes / mitratisque sonant Lydia plectra choris.*

d) Ps. Pindar, fr. 132 Snell, vv. 2-4 (ap. Clem. Al., *Strom.*, IV, 26, 167, 3; cf. Theodoretus of Cyrtha, *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, 8, 35): εὐσεβῶν δὲ ἐπουράνιοι νάουσι, / μολπαῖς μάκαρα μέγαν αἰείδουσ' ἐν ὕμνοισι.

e) Stat., *Silv.*, 5, 3, 24-7: *seu tu Lethaei secreto in gramine campi / concilia heroum iuxta manesque beatos, / Maeonium Ascraeumque senem non seignior umbra / accolis alternumque sonas et carmina misces.*

f) *Corpus Hermeticum*, I (Poimandres), 25-6: καὶ οὕτως ὁρμαῖ λοιπὸν ἄνω διὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας, καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ζώνῃ δίδωσι τὴν ἀϋξητικὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ τὴν μειωτικὴν ... 26. καὶ τότε γυμνωθεὶς ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς ἀρμονίας ἐνεργημάτων γίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ὀγδοαδικὴν φύσιν, τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἔχων, καὶ ὑμνεῖ σὺν τοῖς οὖσι τὸν πατέρα.

g) Claudianus, *De raptu Proserpinae*, 2, 328-9: *Grata coronati peragunt convivia manes; / rumpunt insoliti tenebrosa silentia cantus.*

h) *Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 12: Ἄρτι λοχευομένην σε μελισσοτόκων ἔαρ ὕμνων, / ἄρτι δὲ κυκνεῖω φθεγγομένην στόματι / ἤλασεν εἰς Ἀχέροντα διὰ πλατὺ κῦμα καμόντων / Μοῖρα, λινοκλώστου δεσπότις ἡλακάτης / σὸς δ' ἐπέων, Ἥρινα, καλὸς πόνος οὐ σε γεγωνεῖ / φθίσθαι, ἔχειν δὲ χοροὺς ἄμμιγα Πιερίσιν.

i) *Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 27, vv. 1-2: Εἷης ἐν μακάρεσσιν, Ἀνάκρεον, εὐχος Ἰώνων, / μήτ' ἐρατῶν κώμων ἄνδιχα μήτε λύρης.

j) *CIL*, VI, 21521 c 1-2: *Seu grege Pieridum gaudes seu Palladis [arte / omnis caelicolum te chor[u]s exc[ipiet.*

k) *CIL*, VI, 30.122: *magna virtus pueri victusque remisit animam / volnus habet et c(a)e[c]o carpitur i[gn]e / condidimus terr(a)e a[ri]sque sacrabimus ipsum. / Qui sonus auditur et vox imago Ly(a)ei, / murmurant et chitari cord(a)e cum voce decores. / Hos tibi versicul[o]s cum lacrimis fecerunt ipsi / parentes.*

l) *Carmina epigraphica latina*, III, 2018 Buecheler: *ne tristes lac(rimas ne p)ectora tundite v(estra, / o pater et mater, n(am reg)na caelestia tango. / non tristis Erebus, n(on p)allida mortis imag(o, / sed requies secura te(net ludoque choreas / inter felices animas et (a)moena piorum / pr(ata ...*

m) An epitaph from Rome (II CE), in Kaibel, 1878, No. 559 (= *CIG* 6276), esp. vv. 3-4, attests the soul's song in the Acheron: Πομπιλίης τάφος οὗτος· ἀνὴρ δ' ἐμὸς αὐτὸν ἔτευξεν / Ὠχέανος πάσης ἐμπέραμος σοφίης / κούφη τοιγὰρ ἐμοὶ πέλεται κόνις· ἐν δ' Ἀχέροντι / ὑμνήσω τὴν σὴν, ὦ ἄνερ, εὐσεβίην.

C. Monuments of funerary art provide many pieces of evidence for the belief in the otherworldly music: vid. Dölger, 1927, pl. 233; Quasten, 1929, pl. I, III and VIII-IX (plates are after p. 188); Quasten, 1928, 205, and pl. 33 (of the 1930 edition); Marrou, 1938, 155-6, with No. 200, and p. 170, Nos. 221-2; Cumont, 1942, 304 with pl. XXIX, 1, and fig. 65 (cf. also pl. XXV, 2); Schmidt, Trendall, and Cambitoglou, 1976, 7 ss., and 32 ss.; Schmidt, 1978, plates 7-8 (discussed in pp. 115-6); Paquette, 1984, 169, fig. L 44; Maas-McIntosh Snyder, 1989, 109 (fig. 21 of the fourth chapter), 178-9, 194 (fig. 12 of the seventh chapter), and 242 (note 68 to the seventh chapter), and Gareizou, 1994, Nos. 72-7.

⁴⁵ Pl. *Crat.*, 403d-e (οὐδένα δεῦρο ἐθελῆσαι ἀπελθεῖν τῶν ἐκεῖθεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὰς τὰς Σειρήνας, ἀλλὰ κατακεκληθῆσθαι ἐκείνας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· οὕτω καλοὺς τινας, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐπίσταται λόγους λέγειν ὁ "Αἰδης); Ovid, *Met.*, V, 552-5 (*vobis, Acheloides, unde / pluma pedesque avium, cum virginis ora geratis? / an quia, cum legeret vernos Proserpina flores, / in comitum numero, doctae Sirenes, eratis?*). For this association of the Sirens and Persephone, Hofstetter, 1990, 257 and 299 (W 22), mentions a relief from Lokroi Epizephyrioi, now at Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, Lo 80 (cf. Weicker, 1902, 124, fig. 52, and Prückner, 1968, pl. 31, 2), although we do not see the relation with Persephone.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Historia Alexandri Magni*, "recensio" B, II, 40 (Πάλιν οὖν ὁδεύσαντες σχοίνους τριάκοντα [πλεῖον ἢ ἑξαττον] εἶδομεν λοιπὸν αὐγὴν ἄνευ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων. καὶ εἶδον δύο ὄρνεα πετόμενα καὶ μόνον ἔχοντα ὄψεις ἀνθρωπίνας, Ἑλληνικῇ δὲ διαλέκτῳ ἐξ ὕψους ἐκραύγαζον· τί χώραν

πατεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρε, τὴν θεοῦ μόνου; ἀνάστρεφε δείλαιε. μακάρων γῆν πατεῖν οὐ δυνήσῃ. ἀνάστρεψον οὖν, ἄνθρωπε, καὶ τὴν δεδομένην σοι γῆν πάτει, καὶ μὴ κόπους πάρεχε σεαυτῷ).

⁴⁷ For the Mycenaean human-headed birds, vid. our pl. 6; cf. Evans, 1892-3, 203, fig. 6 (<http://www.jstor.org/view/00754269/ap020013/02a00220/8?frame=noiframe&userID=959f8fa8@indiana.edu/01cc99333c005019a8959&dpi=3&config=jstor>, as consulted on June 8th 2005). Those artifacts are now in the British Museum, London (1892.0520.12). The Homeric passages mentioning the flight of the souls, or comparing their voices with those of birds are mentioned in our section II. 1. c. 3. “*Excursus*: A Flight on the Wings of the Soul.”

⁴⁸ Cf. Schweitzer, 1969, 96, fig. 61, who interprets the image taking into account the Homeric passages we discuss in our section II. 1. c. 3. “*Excursus*: A Flight on the Wings of the Soul;” vid. also Cook, ³1997 (¹1960), 216. Walter, 2002, 145, mentions other pieces of iconographic and epigraphic evidence for these male sirens.

⁴⁹ Marót, 1960, 124, and 192, n. 38 to p. 124.

⁵⁰ Cf. Gropengiesser, 1977, 593. Vid. our pl. 9, and Buschor, 1944, 30, ill. 20 (*pinax* of Berlin-Charlottenburg, Inv. Nr. F 831; cf. Weicker, 1902, 142, fig. 64, and Gropengiesser, 1977, 592, fig. 13). For our pl. 10 (*pinax* of Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No. 27. 146), cf. Gropengiesser, 1977, 592, fig. 15, and 593, n. 37; Zschietzschmann, 1928, 39, No. 28, Beil. 10, above, and Boardman, 1955, 59, No. 5); for the Corinthian *aryballos* of the Antikensammlung des archäologischen Instituts Tübingen, S. / 10. 1264, vid. CVA (36) Tübingen, (1) pl. 25, 1-2 (it can also be seen on <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/XDB/ASP/browseCVAtext.asp>, as consulted on June 28th 2013), and our pl. 11; cf. also Gropengiesser, 1977, 592, fig. 14, and 593, n. 36. Thanks to the photographic services of the related institutions for providing the images and the permission to use them.

⁵¹ For the Cyrenean bowl, now in the Louvre Museum (E667, our pl. 12, sent by the photographic service of the Louvre Museum), cf. Weicker, 1902, 15, fig. 9 (=1909-1915, fig. 4); Thonges-Stringaris, 1965, 8 and “Beilage” 1, 1; Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 20-21, fig. 19 and n. 103a, and Stibbe, 1972, vol. I, pp. 70-1, and vol. II, pl. VI, fig. 1. The Tomb of Metrodorus of Chios may date from the IV B. C. E., according to Boardman, 1966, esp. p. 5; cf. Cumont, 1942, 324 f. Images of the tomb of Metrodorus of Chios can be seen at VV. AA., 1891, 289-91, figs. corresponding to Nr. 766 A; Weicker, 1909-15, fig. 6, and Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 23, fig. 21 (according to whom the tomb of Metrodorus of Chios dates from the III B. C. E.). Still in the Late Antiquity, Claudianus described the banquet of the blest and the music accompanying it (*De raptu Proserpinae*, 2, 328 ss.). Sittl, 1895, 844, points out that the winged images of the souls corresponded to the non-malevolent spirits of the dead; but, although the Homeric tradition (where the Sirens are dangerous beings) tells nothing about the Sirens’ wings, they are quite consistently shown with wings on the images corresponding to the Odyssean episode.

⁵² Buschor, 1944, *passim*, and Pollard, 1977, 189.

⁵³ Vid. Cumont, 1942, 147-8, and fig. 19; cf. Erinna (IV B. C.), fr. 5 Diehl: Στᾶλαι καὶ σειρήνες ἐμαὶ καὶ πένθιμε κρωσσέ (= *Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 710; cf. also VII, 491, and Hofstetter, 1990, 27).

⁵⁴ Vid. Hofstetter, 1990, 151-86 (for Attic monuments), 200 (Thebes), and 243-9 (Oriental Greece). For further examples, cf. *ibid.*, 386, n. 1081, and 409, nn. 1397 and 1399 (to p. 301). For the possibility of the Sirens being mourners, etc., cf. *ibid.*, 152 and the works catalogued as A 211-A 215.

⁵⁵ Vid. Pollard, 1977, 189, Hofstetter, 1990, 185-6, and Wedner, 1994, 68-9.

⁵⁶ The Siren of the Kerameikos is now at the National Museum of Athens, 774 (cf. Carlos Parada, *Greek Mythology Link*, <http://homepage.mac.com/cparada/GML/> [<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/cparada/GML/SIRENS.html>], as consulted on March 18th 2006, and Buschor, 1944, 65, fig. 49); cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 151-2 (A 208), and 157; Brückner, 1909, 61, fig. 35; Collignon, 1911, fig. 138; Despinis, 1982, pl. 41, 1.3; Vedder, 1985, No. S 8, figs. 46.49, and Woysch-Méautis, 1982, 91, fig. 46. For the Siren on Sophocles’ grave, cf. *Vita Sophoclis*, 15, p. XX

Pearson = l. 64-5 Radt (φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῷ μνήματι αὐτοῦ σειρήνα ἐπέστησαν). Woysch-Méautis, 1982, 97, has pointed out the relationship between the Siren on Sophocles's tomb, and Helen's invocation to the Sirens in the tragedy of Euripides. The pyre of Hephestion, the friend of Alexander the Great, seems to have been decorated with mourning Sirens (Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 115, 4: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐφειστήκεισαν Σειρήνες διάκοιλοι καὶ δυνάμεναι λεληθότως δέξασθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς ὄντας καὶ ἄδοντας ἐπικήδιον θρήνον τῷ τετελευτηκότι).

⁵⁷ Cf. Rapp, 1890-94, col. 1102; Marót, 1960, pl. XII, p. 136, and p. 194, n. 63 to p. 136; Smith, 1893-6, E 477; Weicker, 1902, 166, fig. 86; Latte, 1951, 70, fig. 4, and Simantoni-Bournia, 1992, 4, No. 26. According to Harrison, 1882, 159, there are no parallels supporting the interpretation of that human-headed bird as the soul of Procris, but we can remember the *pinax* from Berlin-Charlottenburg, where a human-headed bird flies over a grave where a man is digging (our pl. 9), the *pinax* from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (our pl. 10), and the *aryballos* from Tübingen (our pl. 11). Gropengiesser, 1977, 593, interpreted the Sirens on those monuments as death demons, and Pollard, 1977, 189, wrote that the Siren on the red-figured crater at the British Museum represented doom, not the soul of Procris, as Weicker had proposed. In our opinion, Weicker was right, and the Sirens on the *pinakes* from Berlin and Boston and on the *aryballos* from Tübingen might be interpreted as souls of the deceased as well.

⁵⁸ Cf. Waser, 1902-9, cols. 3217-8; Buschor, 1944, 59, fig. 46, and Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 20, n. 101, and 18, fig. 16 (*lékythos* from ca. 500 B. C. E., now at London, British Museum, inv. N° B 651, our pl. 14). The pediment of a tomb of Xanthos, where a Siren with unfolded wings stands on an aniconic column (London, British Museum, inv. N° B 289, ca. 480; our pl. 15), can also be seen at Buschor, 1944, 58, fig. 45, and Metzger and Coupel, 1963, pl. 48, 2; cf. also Breglia Pulci Doria, 1987, 73, n. 60; Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 18, fig. 15, and Metzger and Coupel, 1963, 74-5).

⁵⁹ Wedner, 1994, 68, and Delatte, 1913, 324, 326, and 329. For an example of the dead playing the lyre, Delatte, 1913, 321, mentions his Nr. 24 (cf. Gardner, 1893, pl. 20, and No. 266, pp. 20-21, fig. 23). It is an Attic *lekythos* by the Achilles Painter, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (AN1889.1016, on display in "Greece /C121"), our pl. 17 (on the following page).

⁶⁰ Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 185-6.

⁶¹ Plutarch, *Vitae decem oratorum*, 838c: αὐτῷ δ' Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὗ σειρήν πηχῶν ἐπτά συμβολικῶς. Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 26-7, on the meaning of συμβολικῶς: it may be "as a representation (sc. 'of the deceased')", but also "as usual." Vid. also:

a) *Vita Isocratis*, 1, lines 147-50 Dindorf: ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότος καὶ τελευτήσαντος θαυμάσαντες αὐτοῦ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦν εἶχε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐνοίαν δημοσίᾳ φιλοτίμως ἔθαψαν, καὶ σειρήνα ἐκκολάψαντες διὰ λίθου ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ μνήματι, δηλοῦντες τὴν εὐμουσίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός.

b) Flavius Philostratus, *Vitae sophistarum*, I, p. 503, ll. 12-18 Olearius: Ἡ δὲ Σειρήν ἢ ἐφεστηκυῖα τῷ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ σοφιστοῦ σήματι, ἐφέστηκε δὲ καὶ οἶον ἄδουσα, πειθὼ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἦν συνεβάλετο ῥητορικοῖς νόμοις καὶ ἥθεσι, πάρισα καὶ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιοτέλευτα οὐχ εὐρὼν πρῶτος, ἀλλ' εὐρημένοις εὐ χρησάμενος, ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ περιβολῆς καὶ ῥυθμοῦ καὶ συνθήκης καὶ κρότου.

c) Choricus (sixth century CE), 8, 1, 9: ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡνίκα τὰς οἰκείας γονὰς εἰς θέατρον ἤρχετο φέρων, ἐποίει δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις εἰς ἔρωτα λόγων ἐγείρων τοὺς νέους, λογάδα τε πᾶσαν ἐξέπληττεν ἀκοὴν καὶ τοὺς τὸν σύλλογον περιεστῶτας ἐκλήλει, ὥστε τὴν Ἰσοκράτους ἐν τῷ τάφῳ Σειρήνα δηλοῦσαν, ὡς ἔθελγε πάντας ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἔχειν αὐτοῦ προσήκει τὸ μνῆμα.



Pl. 17: Attic *lekythos* showing a lyre playing scene among deceased people.
(AN1889.1016, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford)

⁶² Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 29-32 with the notes (p. 320, n. 234 to p. 29; p. 321, n. 259 to p. 32); Wedner, 1994, 69, and the following sources:

A. For “siren” as a metaphor of eloquence:

1. Referred to Pisistratus: Simonides, fr. 102 Page (607 of the continuous series), quoted in *Papyrus Berolinensis*, 13875 (II), lines 3-8, which, according to Zuntz, 1935, 4, read: οὐδὲ πέλε- | κεις οὐδὲ Σηρήν (Pi. fr. 339 Snell-Maehler): ταῦτα | πρὸς Σιμωνίδην, ἐπεὶ | ἐκείνος ἐν ἐνὶ [ᾗ]σματι | ἐποίησεν Σειρήνα τὸν | Πεισίστρατον.
2. Referred to Socrates: Pl. *Smp.*, 216a 6-8 (βίᾳ οὖν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν Σειρήνων ἐπασχόμενος τὰ ὅτα οἴχομαι φεύγων, ἵνα μὴ αὐτοῦ καθήμενος παρὰ τούτῳ καταγυράσω); cf. Aelian, *VH*, II, 30, 9 (πρὸ τῶν Διονυσίων δὲ παρελθὼν ἤκουσε Σωκράτους, καὶ ἅπαξ αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου σειρήνος, τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος οὐ μόνον ἀπέστη τότε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελέως τὸ γράφειν τραγωδίαν ἀπέρριψε, καὶ ἀπεδύσατο ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν), and Eust. *Ad Il.*, vol. 4, p. 198, lines 20-3 Van der Valk: εἶτα ἐπιθέμενος τραγωδία καὶ μέλλων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀκούσας Σωκράτους καὶ καθάπαξ αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου σειρήνος, ἀπεδύσατο ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν, ἐφ' ἣ καὶ εὐδοκίμησε πάνυ.
3. Referred to Aeschines: Aeschin., *In Ctesiphontem*, 228, 3-8: Ἀφομοιοὶ γάρ μου τὴν φύσιν ταῖς Σειρήσιν ὥς ἔοικε. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων οὐ κηλείσθαι φησι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ἀλλ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, διόπερ οὐδ' εὐδοκιμεῖν τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων μουσικὴν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐμῶν εὐπορίαν λόγων καὶ τὴν φύσιν μου γεγενῆσθαι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῶν ἀκουόντων.
4. For Euripides as a “siren,” vid. Alexander Aetolus, fr. 7 Powell, quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XV, 20, 8: *Alexander autem Aetolus hos de Euripide versus composuit: 'Ο δ' Ἀναξαγόρου τρόφιμος χαοῦ στρυφνὸς μὲν ἔμοιγε προσειπεῖν, / καὶ μισογέλως, καὶ τωθάζειν οὐδὲ παρ' οἴῳ μεμαθηκώς, / ἀλλ' ὅ,τι γράψαι τοῦτ' ἂν μέλιτος καὶ Σειρήνων ἐτετεύχει. Cf. Vita Euripidis*, 5, lines 21-3: μειρακίου δέ τινος ἀπαιδευτοτέρου στόμα δυσώδες ἔχειν ὑπὸ φθόνου αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ‘εὐφήμεῖ’ ἔφη ‘μέλιτος καὶ Σειρήνων γλυκύτερον στόμα’.
5. About the grammarian P. Valerius Cato, cf. M. Furius Bibaculus, fragment 6 (17) Morel-Büchner-Blänsdorf (= 6 Courtney, *ap.* C. Suetonius Tranquillus, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, 11, 2): *Cato grammaticus Latina Siren / Qui solus legit ac facit poetas*. Kaster, 1995, 152, says that those verses were ascribed to Bibaculus by Scaliger, on the ground of similarity with another fragment (1 Morel-Büchner-Blänsdorf, = 1 Courtney) quoted and explicitly attributed to Bibaculus by Suetonius, *De grammaticis et rhetoribus*, 11, 3.
6. About Demosthenes: D. H., *Dem.*, 35, lines 37-46: καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα πάλιν οὐ δέδοικε, μὴ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀγαπῇ σωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ λάθωσιν ὑπὸ τῆς συνθέσεως γοητευθέντες, ὥστε καὶ τῶν φανερῶν αὐτὸν ἀδίκῃ μάτῳ ἀφείναι διὰ τὰς σειρήνας τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμονίας. ἐκ δὲ τούτων οὐ χαλεπὸν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι δεινότητά μὲν αὐτῷ, ὅσῃν οὐχ ἑτέρῳ, μαρτυρῶν καὶ ταῖς σειρήσιν ἀπεικάζων αὐτοῦ τὴν μουσικὴν, ἀγάμενος δὲ οὐ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς συνθέσεως, ἀναμφιλόγως αὐτῷ ταύτην παρακεχώρηκε τὴν ἀρετὴν.
7. For the philosophical schools, cf. Philodemus, *Volumina rhetorica*, fr. libri 5, β VII² fr. 3, vol. 2, p. 145 f. Sudhaus (πολλοὺς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐντεθουσιακὸς καὶ τρέφον ἀμυθήτους κατέσχε ποικίλην σειρήνι καὶ τῶν ἀκροάσεων καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ διαδοχῶν).
8. M. Valerius Martialis. *Epigrammata*, 3, 64, vv. 1-6: *Sirenas hilarem navigantium poenam / Blandasque mortes gaudiumque crudele, / Quas nemo quondam deserebat auditas, / Fallax Vlixes dicitur reliquisse. / Non miror: illud, Cassiane, mirarer, / Si fabulantem Canium reliquisset.*
9. Petron., 127, 5: *haec ipsa cum diceret, tanta gratia conciliabat vocem loquentis, tam dulcis sonus pertemptatum mulcebat aëra, ut putares inter auras canere Sirenum concordiam.*
10. Quint., *Inst.*, 5, 8, 1: *Pars altera probationum, quae est tota in arte constatque rebus ad faciendam fidem adpositis, plerumque aut omnino negligitur aut leuissime attingitur ab iis qui argumenta uelut horrida et confragosa uitantes amoenioribus locis desident, neque aliter quam ii qui traduntur a poetis gustu cuiusdam apud Lotophagos graminis et Sirenum cantu deleniti uoluptatem saluti praetulisse, dum laudis falsam imaginem persecuntur ipsa propter quam dicitur uictoria cedunt.*

11. For Marcus Antonius, cf. Plutarchus, *Marius*, 44, 6, 1: τοιαύτη δέ τις ἦν ὡς ἔοικε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἢ τῶν λόγων σειρήν.
12. Arr. *Epict.*, II, 23, 40-1: ἐπ<ε>ὶ διὰ λόγου καὶ τοιαύτης παραδόσεως ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον δεῖ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν ἐκκαθάραι καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν χρηστικὴν τῶν φαντασιῶν ὀρθὴν κατασκευάσαι, ἀνάγκη δὲ τὴν παράδοσιν γίνεσθαι <διά> τ<ιν>ων θεωρημάτων καὶ διὰ λέξεως ποιᾶς καὶ μετὰ τινος ποικιλίας καὶ δορυμύτητος τῶν θεωρημάτων, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τινες τούτων ἀλισκόμενοι καταμένουσιν αὐτοῦ, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ συλλογισμῶν, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ μεταπλόντων, ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου πανδοκείου, καὶ προσμείναντες κατασῆπονται ὡς παρὰ ταῖς Σειρήσιν.
13. Sophocles as “siren”, according to Pausanias, I, 21, 1: λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακε δαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεώσι, τὴν Σειρήνα τὴν νέαν τιμᾶν· καὶ οἱ τὸ ὄναρ <ἐς> Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποιήσιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν, εἰώθασι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιημάτων καὶ λόγων τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν Σειρήνι εἰκάζειν.
14. Ael., *VH*, 12, 1, l. 37: φῶνημα δὲ εἶχεν ἡδὺ καὶ ἀπαλόν· εἶπεν ἄν τις λαλούσης αὐτῆς ἀκοῦειν Σειρήνος.
15. Clem. Al., *Quis dives salvetur*, 42, 15, lines 1-8: ὁ δὲ ἐγγνώμενος, ἐπομνύμενος ὡς ἄφεςιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ σωτήρος εὔρηται, δεόμενος, γονυπετῶν, αὐτὴν τὴν δεξιὰν ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς μετανοίας κεκαθαρμένην καταφιλῶν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ δαψιλέσι μὲν εὐχαῖς ἐξαιτούμενος, συνεχέσι δὲ νηστεῖαις συναγωνιζόμενος, ποικίλαις δὲ σειρήσι λόγων κατεπάδων αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην, οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθεν, ὥς φασι, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐπιστήσαι τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, διδοὺς μέγα παράδειγμα μετανοίας ἀληθινῆς καὶ μέγα γνῶρισμα παλιγγενεσίας, τρῶπιον ἀναστάσεως βλεπομένης (also literally quoted by Eus. Caes., *HE*, 3, 23, 19).
16. Ariston of Chios was called “Siren,” according to D. L., VII, 160: <Ἀρίστων ὁ Χίος> ὁ Φάλανθος, ἐπικαλούμενος Σειρήν.
17. Origenes, *Cels.*, 5, 64, lines 12-17: Ἀληθῶς δὲ τὸ τοῦ σκανδάλου ὄνομα πολὺ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τούτοις ἐστίν, ὅπερ εἰώθαμεν λέγειν περὶ τῶν διαστρεφόντων ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγιούς διδασκαλίας τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους καὶ εὐεξαπατήτους. Σειρήνας δὲ τινὰς ἐξορχουμένας καὶ σοφιστρίδας, κατασφραγιζόμενας τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀποσυσκεφαλούσας τοὺς πειθομένους.
18. Eus. Caes., *LC*, prologue, section 1, lines 1-2: Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ μύθους, οὐκ ἀκοῆς θήρατρα, λόγων εὐγλωττίαν πλασάμενος πάρεμι κηλήσων ὦτα φωνῇ Σειρήνων.
19. Alciphrr., *Epistulae*, IV, 11, 7: ἀρτίως μὲν οἶον ἐφθέγγετο, οἶον ἔβλεπεν, ὅσαι ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῆς σειρήνες ἐνίδρυντο, ὡς δὲ ἡδύ τι καὶ ἀκήρατον ἀπὸ τῶν φιλημάτων νέκταρ ἔσταζεν· ἐπ' ἄκροις μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῆς ἐκάθισεν ἡ Πειθώ.
20. Basil., *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* [Dub.], 13, 277, lines 23-31: Ἐὰν δὲ τίνα ἴδῃς κνηθόμενον τὴν ἀκοὴν καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποστρέφοντα αὐτὴν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς μύθους ἐκτρεπόμενον καὶ εὐτόνου μὲν λόγου μὴ ἀνεχόμενον, μηδὲ ἔλεγχον, μηδὲ ἐπιτίμησιν αὐστηρὰν (εἰς ἐπιστρέφειαν ἄγουσαν τὸν ἀκροατὴν) ὑπομένοντα, φίλον δὲ ὄντα τοῦ πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἡδονὴν ἀπαγγέλλοντος λόγου, – νόμισον ὑπὸ σειρήνων κατέχεσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον, ὑπὸ τῆς χρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας ἐξαπατώμενον.
21. Basil., *Gent.*, 4, lines 3-11: Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, ἐπεὶ παντοδαποὶ τινὲς εἰσι κατὰ τοὺς λόγους, μὴ πᾶσιν ἐφεξῆς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν [τάς] τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πράξεις ἢ λόγους ὑμῖν διεξιῶσιν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ ζηλοῦν, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πειρᾶσθαι τοιούτους εἶναι, ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ μοχθηροὺς ἀνδρας ἔλθωσι τῇ μμήσει, ταῦτα δεῖ φεύγειν ἐπιφρασσομένους τὰ ὦτα οὐκ ἥττον ἢ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά φασὶν ἐκείνοι τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων μέλη.
22. Lib., *Decl.*, 16, (subdivision) 1, section 46, lines 11-12: τίνα πειθῶ καὶ σειρήνα καινὴν ἀνευρόντι ἡ κατέθελξα δικάζοντας ὑμᾶς μόνος ἐγρηγορότας ἀεὶ,

23. Them. <Υπὲρ τοῦ λέγειν ἢ πῶς τῷ φιλοσόφῳ λεκτέον>, p. 330 Harduin, section *a*, lines 3-5: ἀλλ' ἀφίης νέμεσθαι ἡμῶν τὴν φιληκοίαν καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς κατακηλοῦσι λόγοις καὶ γοητεύουσιν, ὥσπερ αἱ σειρήνες.
24. Eriph. Const. *Panarion*, vol. II, p. 432, lines 3-6 Holl: ὅθεν εὐλαβητέον πρὸ τοῦ καταμαθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς εἰς τὴν καρδίαν εἰσδέξασθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον· καὶ γὰρ φθάνουσιν οἱ ἐξαπατῶντες πολλάκις τοὺς διστάζοντας, καθάπερ δὴ καὶ αἱ Σειρήνες τοὺς φεύγοντας αὐτάς, κρύπτουσαι μακρόθεν τὸ μισάνθρωπον τῇ καλλιφωνίᾳ.
25. Synes. *Ep.*, 139, lines 5-6 Hercher: ἐμέ γέ τοι καὶ παρὼν μὲν ἤρεις τῇ γλυκεῖᾳ Σειρῇνι τῶν λόγων.
26. Synes. *Ep.*, 146, 16-18 Hercher: τί οὖν ἀποδέουσιν εἶναι Σειρήνες αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἡδοναί, ὅφ' ὧν ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμβριθεὶς ἀφείς ὅλος Ἐρκουλιανοῦ γέγονα;
27. Thdt., *Epistle 31*, lines 2-10: Αὐτὸς δὲ φιλίας νόμους πληροῖς, φίλοις ἐπαίνους ὑφαίνων, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν λόγων τούτους αἴρων εἰς ὕψος, καὶ δεικνὺς πόσῃν ἔχουσι ῥώμῃν οἱ λόγοι, ὅτι καὶ τὰ λίαν σμικρὰ μεγάλα δεικνύειν ἰσχύουσιν· ὧν τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ κράτος πανταχόθεν συναγαγόν, τοὺς τούτων προσφέρεις καρπούς, νῦν μὲν ἐν συνουσίαις διαλεγόμενος, νῦν δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων φθεγγόμενος, καὶ τὴν ἀττικὴν εὐγλωττίαν τιθεὶς ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι, καὶ πλέον τῇ τῶν λόγων ἡδονῇ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας θέλων ἢ αἱ τοῦ μύθου Σειρήνες τὸν Ὀδυσσεὰ ταῖς ᾠδαῖς κατεκλήσαν.
28. Choricus, 4, 1, 2, lines 1-3: ἤδη μὲν οὖν τις εὖ μάλα τὰ Μουσῶν ἐργαζόμενος ποιητικῇ σειρῇνι τὸ θέατρον ἔθελξεν ἐνία σου τῶν γνωριζμάτων ὑποτάξας τῷ μέτρῳ.
29. *Suda*, ε, 1473, line 1-3: Ἐ ν τ ἡ ξ α ς : ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμβαλῶν, ἐμφυτεύσας, διδάξας. καὶ ἐντήξας αὐτῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἰσχὺν λόγων ἄμαχον καὶ σειρήνα εὐγλωττίας ἐφολκοτάτην.
30. *Suda*, σ, 280, lines 20-1: καὶ ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασι καὶ τὸ λάλημα κείνο τὸ Σειρήνων γλυκύτερον.
31. Clement of Rome as a «siren», according to Ps. Symeon Metaphrastes, *Clementinorum epitome altera*, section 152, lines 9-11: ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Θεοδώρα τῇ σειρῇνι τῆς τοῦ Κλήμεντος γλώττης καταθελχθεῖσα καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ δι' ἐκείνου πιστεύσασα θερμότερον ἀντεποιεῖτο τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ διηνεκῶς ἔψαλλε, καὶ οὐκ ἀπελιμπάνετο τῆς συνάξεως.
32. About Isocrates as a «siren»:
32. 1. Michael Psellus, *Orationes panegyricae*, 1, lines 151-6: Ὅταν ὁμιλοῦντος ἀκούσω, τῆς Δημοσθένους γλώττης αἰσθάνομαι, τῆς τοῦ Περικλέους, τῆς τοῦ Πολέμωνος, τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος, τῆς Λυσιακῆς εὐστομίας, τῆς Ἰσοκράτους σειρήνος, τῆς Ἡροδότου γλυκύτητος, τῆς χρυσῆς γλώττης τοῦ Δίωνος· ἐμφράττω τὴν ἀκοήν, ἐπέχω τοὺς λογισμούς, ὥστε μὴ τῷ κατακλυσμῷ τῶν σῶν λόγων ἀπορρῦναι.
32. 2. Michael Psellus, *Orationes panegyricae*, 11, lines 24-7: ἴσασι γάρ, ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἡττηθήσονται τούτων καὶ Δημοσθενικαὶ δεινότητες καὶ Λυσιακαὶ χάριτες καὶ σειρήνες Ἰσοκρατικαὶ καὶ Πλατωνικαὶ μεγαλόνοια καὶ ἡ χρυσὴ γλώττα τοῦ Δίωνος.
33. Michael Psellus, *Poemata*, 17, vv. 103—7: Ὅρφεὺς γὰρ ὄντως, ἀλλὰ Σειρῇν ἐν λόγοις / ὑπῆρχες εἰσπέμπουσα πάγκαλον μέλος / καὶ πάντοθεν θέλγουσα καὶ κηλοῦσά τε / καὶ πρὸς χαρὰν πέμπουσα καὶ θυμηδίαν / καὶ θλίψεων λύουσα τὰς περιστάσεις.
34. Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, 14, 7, 4, lines 15-21: Τὰ δὲ ἔξωθεν καὶ ὅσα μοι συνεπεπτόκει οὐπω τὸν ὄγδοον ὑπερελάσασα χρόνον, καὶ ὅσους ἐχθροὺς ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μοι κακία παρεβλάστησε, τῆς Ἰσοκράτους Σειρῇνος δεῖται, τῆς Πινδαρικῆς μεγαλοφωνίας, τοῦ Πολέμωνος ῥοίζου, τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς Καλλιόπης, τῆς Σαπφικῆς λύρας ἢ τινος ἄλλης παρὰ ταύτας δυνάμει.
35. Michael Attaliates, *Historia*, page 216, lines 9-14 Bekker: καὶ θεαθῆναι μὲν τοιοῦτος ἦν, καὶ κρεῖττων ἤπερ ἐκπέφρασται· ὁμιλῆσαι δὲ τοσοῦτον χαρίζεις καὶ εὐθυμος καὶ περιδέξιος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὡς Σειρήνας μμείσθαι τοὺς φθόγγους αὐτοῦ, πάντας ἔλκοντας πρὸς ἀκρόασιν, καὶ τῶν οἴκοι ποιοῦντας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι καὶ μόνῳ προσανέχειν αὐτῷ.

36. Pseudo-Zonaras, *Lexicon*, alphabetic letter epsilon, page 752, lines 3-5: καὶ ἐντήξας [ταῖς] αὐτῶν ψυχαῖς ἰσχὺν λόγων ἄμαχον καὶ σειρήνα εὐγλωττίας ἐφολκοτάτην.

37. Georgius Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ ἱστορίαι (libri vi de Michaele Palaeologo)*, page 181, lines 2-6 Failler-Laurent: Ἄλλ' ὅταν, μεμυκόσι χεῖλεσιν ὑποκοριζομένη, τὸ περὶ τὴν πόλιν διεξήει – ἦν δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς εὐγε τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν Χρυσέαν πύλιν εἰσελθεῖν μέλλοι καὶ ὡς τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐκείσε μεγαλυνόμενος ἐκτελέσειεν – , αὐτίκα τούτοις ὥσπερ σειρήσι τὸ παιδίον θελγόμενον κατεσίγα καὶ πῶς μαλακῶς καὶ ἡδέως κατεκοιμίζετο.

38. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, chapter 3, poem 18, lines 62-71: Μόγισ τὸ βαθὺ τῆς ψυχῆς λύσας νέφος, / Θυμὸς γὰρ αὐτῷ συμφυῆς ἐπεσκότει, / Τὰς τῶν νεφελῶν ἐσκοπεῖτο συνθέσεις, / Ὅπως νότου πνεύσαντος εἰς Φάσιν λύοι, / Καὶ πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀντανεῖργε τὴν κρῖσιν / Πικρῶς τυραννῶν καὶ καθέλκων τὸ σκάφος / Τριῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἡμερῶν παρηγμένων, / Ἄλλους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἦγεν ὁ πλοῦς ἐμπόρους, / Οἱ Χατζίκην λέγουσιν εἰς Καφάν μένειν, / Ταῖς τῶν φίλων σειρήσι κεκρατημένον.

39. Manuel Philes, *Carmina*, chapter 5, poem 11, line 192-5: Σὺ πενθερικὴ δρουγγαρικὴ καρδιά, / Τῆς φύσεως αὔχημα καὶ τῶν βιβλίων, / Νῦν σοῦ προβαλοῦ τὴν ἵγγα τῶν λόγων, / Καὶ τὴν καλὴν σειρήνα τῆς εὐγλωττίας.

40. Georgius Acropolites, *Praefatio in epistulas Theodori Lascaris*, lines 36-7: Τίς δὲ παραπλεύσειεν αὐτῶν τὴν χάριν, / Σειρήνας ὥσπερ τοῦ Λαερτίου γόνος.

41. Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Romana*, vol. 3, p. 30, lines 6-8: ὥστε καὶ χαλεπαίνειν ἐνίος' ἐν τούτοις ὠρμημένον τὸν ῥῆγα ἔθελγεν αὐθις αὐτὸν τῇ τῶν λόγων σειρῇ καὶ ταῖς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀναντιρρήτοις στροφαῖς καὶ περιστροφαῖς.

42. Pindar is also called “Siren” by the author of an epigram (*Anthologia Graeca*, 9, 184, 1: Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρήν). An allusion to Pindar or to Corinna may be found at Michael Psellus, *Orationes panegyricae*, 4, line 229-38: ἵνα μὴ ἐκπλήξῃ τῷ θαύματι μηδὲ πετροποιήσῃ τὸν θεατὴν ὥσπερ ἡ τῆς Γοργούς, ἀλλ' ὁ πῦρ κατὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖς σκέμμασι πνέων καὶ τοῖς βουλεύμασι καὶ γοργῶν σέλας τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποστίβων καὶ τοῖς ἀνθισταμένοις Ἡράκλειον ἐμβόημα ἀπειλῶν, ἡμερόν τι τῷ προσίοντι προσμειδίᾳ καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν τῆς γλώττης παραιτησάμενος σάλπιγγα καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέσσην ἐκ τῆς ὑπάτης μεθαρμοσάμενος μελιχίον τι φθέγγῃ καὶ προσηνές, οἷον οὔτε ἡ μελοποιὸς ἦσε Σαπφῷ οὔτε ἡ Θηβόθεν σειρῇ οὔθ' ἡ Ἀνακρεόντειος μοῦσα οὔτε ἡ Ὀρφικὴ λύρα οὔθ' ὁ στεφανηφόρος Μελέαγρος.

44. *Anthologia Graeca*, 9, 522, lines 1-4: Ἰλιάς, ὦ μέγα ἔργον, Ὀδυσσεῖς τε τὸ σῶφρον / γράμμα, τὸ καὶ Τροίῃ θῆκεν ἴσην Ἰθάκην, / τὸν με γέροντ' αὔξοιτ' ἐς αἰεὶ νέον· ἡ γὰρ Ὀμήρου / σειρὴν ὑμετέρων ρέεται ἀπὸ στομάτων.

45. Menander was called “siren of the theaters” in *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix (Epigrammata demonstrativa)*, 114, b1-2: Φαιδρὸν] ἐταῖρον Ἔρωτος ὀρέας, σειρήνα θεάτρων, / τόνδε Μ]ένανδρον.

B. “Siren” as a metaphor of deceptive persuasion:

1. Euripides, *Andromache*, 936: ἀγῶ κλύουσα τούσδε Σειρήνων λόγους.

2. Synes. *Ep.*, 146, 9-18 Hercher: ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι τὰς Σειρήνας ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν ἡγοῦμαι βλασφημεῖσθαι, ἢ ὅτι τῷ μελιχρῷ τῆς φωνῆς ἀπώλλυνον, προσαγόμεναι τὸν πιστεύσαντα· ἤκουσα δὲ τοῦ τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἀλληγοροῦντος τὸν μῦθον. Σειρήνας γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἱ νίττεσθαι τὰς ἀπολαυστικὰς ἡδονάς, αἱ τοὺς εἰξάντας καὶ καταγοητευθέντας αὐτῶν τῷ προσηνεί μετὰ μακρὸν ἀπολλύουσι. τί οὖν ἀποδέουσιν εἶναι Σειρήνες αἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἡδοναί, ὅν' ἐγὼ τὸ ἐμβριθεὶς ἀφείς ὅλος Ἐρкулιανοῦ γέγονα;

3. Thdt., *Affect.*, 8, 1, lines 3-13: Ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν ἀπλοῖς ἐκείνος καὶ διαφανέσιν εἰδῶθαι κεχρησθαι λόγοις, ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν φιλοσόφων τινές, ἔφην ἂν αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδῶ τὴν τῶν Μουσῶν προκεκριμέναι φωνή· ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἰνιγματώδεις οἱ ἐκείνου γε λόγοι καὶ ὕφαλοι – ξυμβολικῶς γὰρ τοι τὰς παραινέσεις προσέφερε· τοιοῦτο γὰρ δὴ τὸ «μαχαίρῃ πῦρ μὴ σκαλεῖν» καὶ «ἐπὶ χοίνικος μὴ καθῆσθαι» καὶ «μελάνουρον μὴ

ἐσθίειν» καὶ «ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν» καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τούτοις ξυντεταγμένα – , οἶμαι αὐτὸν Σειρήσι μὲν ἀπεικάζει τοὺς κεκοιμημένους καὶ κατεγλωττισμένους λόγους, Μούσαις δὲ τοὺς ἐπείσακτον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχοντας, γυμνὸν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ κάλλος ἐπιδεικνύοντας.

4. Thdt., *Is.*, 5, lines 185—9: Ἀπὸ τοίνυν τῆς κατεχούσης παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόξης τέθεικε τὰ (ὀνόματα) καὶ καλεῖ ὀνοκενταύρους μὲν ἃς οἱ παλαιοὶ μὲν ἐμπούσας οἱ δὲ νῦν ὀνοσκ(ελίδας) προσαγορεύουσι, σειρήνας δὲ τοὺς ταῖς παντοδαπαῖς καταθέλγοντας ἑξαπάταις);

5. Elias, *In Cat.*, p. 119, lines 19—22 Busse: ἔχοντες τὴν λογικὴν διακρίνουσαν, ἡγουν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἥτις ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι τὸ Ἑρμαῖκὸν μῶλυ, ἥτινι ὀπλισάμενοι οὐ θέλγονται ὑπὸ τῶν Σειρήνων τῶν ἐτεροδόξων αἰρέσεων τῆς φιλοσοφίας

6. Theophylactus Simocatta, *Epistulae*, 82, lines 6-7: Σειρήνας γὰρ δοκῶ τὰς ἀσχήμονας ἡδονὰς τὴν ποίησιν ἀνα πλάττεσθαι.

7. Nicephorus I, *Refutatio et eversio definitionis synodalis anni 815*, 80, lines 51—3: ἀλλ' ἐχρὴν μὲν ἡμᾶς, τούτων ἀφεμένους οἷα Σειρήνων λόγων οὐδὲν ἀποδεόντων, τὸ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ γεγοητευμένον καὶ τὸ μυθώδες ἐπαγομένων...

8. Joannes Cameniates, *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, 11, 3, lines 1-5: τί γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον ὁ μυθικός Ὀρφεὺς ἢ ἡ Ὀμηρικὴ μοῦσα ἢ τὰ τῶν Σειρήνων ληρήματα, τῷ ψεύδει τῶν πλασμάτων ἀναγραφόμενα, οἷς λόγος μὲν ἐπαίνων οὐδεὶς ἀληθής, φῆμαι δὲ ψευδεῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πλανῶσαι καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀνδραποδίζουσαι.

9. *Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, Epigrammata demonstrativa*, 276, lines 1-6: Σειρὴν λόγων σὼν θελκτικωτάτη λίαν / οὐ θήρας αἰρεῖ καὶ λίθους, νεκρὰν φύσιν, / ὥς μῦθος Ἑλλήνιστορεῖ τὸν Ὀρφέα, / κακῶς διδάσκων, οὐκ ἀλήθειαν λέγων· / ἃ γὰρ στέρονται καὶ νοὸς καὶ τοῦ λόγου, / ποίαν ἔχουσιν ἡδονὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις;

⁶³ Cf. Olmos, 2008, 147-8. On p. 147, he says that Vermeule, 1981, 150, N^o. 118, suggested that the musician is Orpheus, and the scene would represent the episode of the Argonautic expedition, when the Thracian citharist defeated the Sirens by means of his song (cf. A. R., 4, 905-6; Seneca, *Medea*, 357-60; Ps. Apollod., 1, 9, 25 = 1, 35, and Orphic *Argonautica*, 1284-90); *contra*, Hofstetter, 1990, 260-1 (with pl. 36), with whom we agree. Hofstetter has rightly pointed out that Orpheus, in other images, is never represented under the traits of the citharist in the Malibu group (Hofstetter, 1990, 398, n. 1224 to p. 261); that the gesture of the siren to the right of the citharist suggests grief, and brings to our mind a funeral setting. Actually, on <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=8398> (from where our pl. 16 is taken), as consulted on December 12th 2009, we read that the musician of the terracotta group does not wear the Oriental garments that Orpheus usually wore in the images dating from the same period of the terracotta group. On the other hand, we think that, if the citharist would be alive, the Sirens would not be listening to him or taking part in the performance, but trying to lure him, as they did with Ulysses.

⁶⁴ Cf. Marrou, 1933 and 1938.

⁶⁵ Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 27-8. In the epigram of Erinna for her friend Baukis (*Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 710), the Sirens are asked to greet the visitor of the tomb and to keep alive the memory of the deceased. Further, the Sirens are invoked as “my Sirens,” which suggests that they are a kind of “auxiliary spirit” of the dead. But, according to Hofstetter, the Attic monuments do not confirm that the Sirens were consistently on graves for victims of fatal death, who might deserve special laments. Besides, our colleague Vsevolod Vladimirovich Zel’chenko (Bibliotheca Classica Petropolitana, St. Petersburg, Russia) pointed out to us the possible apotropaic meaning of those Sirens (private conversation, Napoli, July 18th 2007).

⁶⁶ With respect to the relationship between Sirens as winged beings and the belief in heaven as abode of the blest, it is suggested in a beautiful fragment by Euripides (911 Nauck = *Antiope*, fr. 911 of the Appendix in the edition of

Jouan-Van Looy = 911 Kannicht), conserved by Satyrus (III-II B. C.) in his *Life of Euripides* (fr. 39, 17, ll. 30-39 Arrighetti), and quoted also by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, 4, 26, 172, 1: χρύσσαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ / καὶ τὰ σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλ' ἀρμόζεται, / βάσομαί δ' ἀ[ν'] αἰθέρα πουλὺν ἀερθεῖς / Ζηνὶ προσμείζων (Nauck read: χρύσσαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ / καὶ τὰ σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλα [ἀρμόζεται], / βάσομαί τ' εἰς αἰθέριον πόλον ἀρθεῖς / Ζηνὶ προσμείζων, and Jouan-Van Looy: χρύσσαι δὴ μοι πτέρυγες περὶ νώτῳ / καὶ τὰ σειρήνων πτερόεντα πέδιλ' ἀρμόζεται, / βάσομαί δ' εἰς αἰθέρα πουλὺν ἀερθεῖς / Ζηνὶ προσμείζων). Cf. Cumont, 1942, 328, and, for a different view, Hofstetter, 1990, 22-3. We shall discuss further details and implications of the wings of the Sirens in III.3. Besides this, the II A. D. scholar Theo of Smyrna explained the relationship between Sirens and stars on the basis of the verb σειριάζειν = “sparkle, twinkle”; cf. his *Expositio rerum mathematicarum ad legendum Platonem utilium* [*Mathematical Questions Necessary for the Understanding of Plato*], p. 146 ed. Hiller (ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων ᾧς φησιν ἐφεστάναι Σειρήνας οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς <φασιν> λέγεσθαι τοὺς πλάνητας, ἀπὸ τοῦ σειριάζειν), and Eustathius, *Ad Od.*, vol. 2, p. 5, l. 29-30 Stallbaum (ἐν δεῖ ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ εὐρηται καὶ ταῦτα· Σειρήνες, τὰ ἄστρον. σείρια γὰρ καλοῦνται παρὰ τὸ σειριᾶν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀστράπτειν).

⁶⁷ The myth about the soul and its wings, in Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246a-247a, and 256b-d (cf. also *Phaed.*, 109e.) The image of the flight of the souls is attested among the Orphics, who placed the abode of the blest underground, in the Homeric Hades: on the flight of the soul among the Orphics, cf. Plato's *Phaedo*, 70a, and the gold leaf of Thurios edited by Kern, 1922 (²1963), fragment Nr. 32 c, v. 6 = fragment 488 ed. Bernabé. On the underground Hades among the Orphics, cf. Plato's *Phaedo*, 72a and 70c; *Cic.Resp.*, 6, 14, and Plutarch, *Cons. ux.* 10, 611d-f, and *Ser. num. vind.* 565e-f (cf. *Non posse suav. viv. sec. Epicurum* 28, 1105d.) An overview of these beliefs may be found in Molina Moreno, 2008; cf. also Cumont, 1910; Alès, 1933; Courcelle, 1944, and Turcan, 1959, Besides that, in one of the above mentioned pieces of evidence about the wings of the Sirens (*E. Hel.*, 167-78), they are invoked as daughters of the Earth, and their help is requested for the funeral hymn to reach Persephone. This suggests that they might also be linked with a subterranean realm of the dead.

⁶⁸ On the divinity and the soul of the stars, vid. our section c.4.1. (“*Excursus*: On the Souls of Stars and Spheres”), in this same chapter.

c. 3. *Excursus*: A Flight on the Wings of the Soul

Although it has been asserted that the Greeks never imagined the soul as a bird,⁶⁹ yet some pieces of evidence do show that souls were compared with birds throughout the Antiquity, as will be shown. Even in the Homeric poems, where the ψυχή is usually conceived as a replica of the human body,⁷⁰ we find some allusions to the flight of the soul.⁷¹ Although we may argue that not everything flying is necessarily a bird, there are explicit Homeric comparisons of souls with birds and bats, and the verb τρίζω (“utter a shrill cry”, of young birds) is applied to Patroklos’s soul, which may be taken as a quite ancient association between souls and birds.⁷² Thus, it is obvious that some birds share their flying and creaking with the souls of Homeric eschatology, but nowhere in the Homeric poems is it suggested that those whines were a song of enticing beauty like that of the Sirens. These tenuous Homeric associations of souls and birds become increasingly bolder in later sources, both literary and iconographic. We must turn now to a review of those other sources.

We might interpret as souls the little winged human creatures rising from a *pithos* near which Hermes (a soul-leading god, according to ancient belief) stands with his caduceus on a white-figured Attic *lékythos* from the mid-fifth century B. C. E. (our pl. 18):⁷³



Pl. 18: Hermes calling out souls represented as winged *eídola*.

These small winged human figures (*eídola*) also appear on other *lékythoi* from the same time, in contexts allowing almost no doubt that they represent souls: for example, they are being weighed by Hermes or carried by Charon (the boatman of the dead ones) on his boat (our pl. 19-22).⁷⁴



Pl. 19: A winged *eidolon* of a soul brings incense
to welcome another soul to the Other World
(Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)



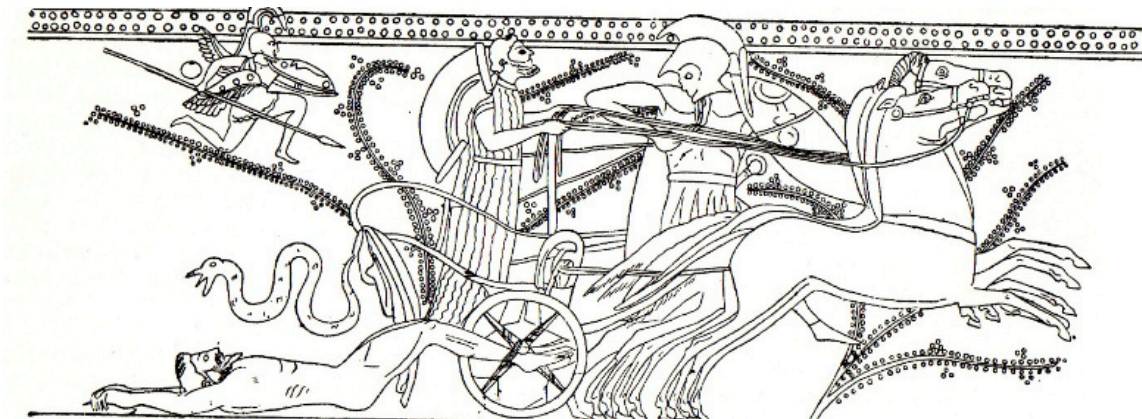
Pl. 20: Hermes weighing souls represented as winged (?) *eidola*.

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Pl. 21: Winged *eídola* of the souls around Charon's boat

(Frankfurt, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung. Photo: Gabriele Busch-Hauck)



Pl. 22: Winged *eídolon* of Hector

(with permission of the “Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali –
Soprintendenza Speciale per i beni archeologici di Napoli e Pompei”, 08/31/2012).

Other *eidola* may be found in representations of the death of heroes: for example, on an amphora in the “Museo Nazionale” of Naples (H2746), we see Hector’s corpse being dragged along by Achilles’s quadriga, behind which a small winged figure of a full-armored warrior –probably representing Hector’s soul– stands on what seems to be the funerary tumulus (our pl. 22).⁷⁵ These images of the soul are not Sirens: their body is entirely human (the lower half of the body –at least– of the Sirens is bird-like), but they have wings, like the Sirens.

Before proceeding further, we must notice that in some of the images presented above there were winged *eidola* alongside with fully human representations of the deceased. It seems that two different images of the soul could appear at the same scene. Why so? There could be a belief that, after a time in the Otherworld, the souls of the deceased recovered their wings (a motif that Plato would develop in his *Phaedrus*), while the “newcomers” would be still wingless. Or the winged *eidola* could represent apotropaic demons, or just let the watcher know that the scene took place in the Otherworld: that was the way to distinguish Charon taking the deceased into his boat, for example, from any other human boatman welcoming alive passengers.

There are other images in which a bird without any human feature represents the soul of the deceased.⁷⁶ So far as we know, the evidence of this kind of soul-image is quite scanty, but it does exist. A Sicilian red-figured amphora of *ca.* 500 B. C. E., now in New York, MMA (56.171.25), shows Eos holding the corpse of Memnon, on whose mouth a bird is hovering (our pl. 23):⁷⁷ this bird may represent Memnon’s soul.



Pl. 23: A bird hovering over Memnon's mouth

(probably representing Memnon's soul).

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, ©Photo SCALA, Florence

An image of the death of Procris (our pl. 13), in which a human-headed bird hovers over the corpse, has been discussed above. Earlier (seventh-sixth centuries B. C. E.) but less clear examples include the Graeco-Phoenician scarabaeus found in Tamassos (Cyprus), on which two winged human beings seem to be wailing for a dead person lying on a bed over which another bird hovers.⁷⁸

We may interpret those images as representations of the soul because of the increasingly explicit literary allusions not only to the soul's flight (which appear already in the Homeric poems), but also to its wings, as well as comparisons or identifications of the soul with birds. The bird-shaped image of the soul is suggested in the poignant Sophoclean comparison of the dead with "fair-winged birds, flying towards the shore of the god of the West." In an epitaph for Plato's tomb, an eagle talks to the passer-by, identifying itself as Plato's soul. There are many later instances, such as the picturesque descriptions by Pliny the Elder and Maximus of Tyrus of the way in which the soul of Aristeas of Proconnesus left him in the shape of a raven, but these authors might reflect the evolution of a belief not initially attached to Aristeas: Herodotus (our most ancient source for this personage) reveals only that he was said to take the form of a raven on occasion. Beliefs akin to those attested by Pliny and Maximus may be reflected by Antoninus Liberalis (1, 5), who reports that when Ctesylla died, a dove was seen flying away, and the body of Ctesylla became invisible. This suggests that the soul of the heroine escaped in dove-shape. The same thing would have happened to Semiramis, metamorphosed into a dove after dying, according to Diodorus and Lucianus. The Ps. Callisthenes told a similar story: when Alexander the Great died, an eagle was seen flying toward the sky. Lucian, as usual, parodied this kind of narratives, thus attesting its diffusion in his time.⁷⁹

Among Latin classical poets, Ovid, in a poetic exposition of the doctrine of transmigration, says that man is not only body but also a flying soul, and Vergil compares the souls waiting for Charon to carry them through the Acheron with leaves falling from the trees in autumn and with birds gathering on the earth in winter.⁸⁰ In a well known passage by Horace, the poet states that his destiny after dying will not be like that of everybody else: he will get wings, depart like a singing bird, and see the Bosphorus, the Syrtes, and the Hyperborean lands.⁸¹ Although this is not exactly the same as imagining the soul in bird-form, a *post-mortem* metamorphosis into a bird after dying may be related to the belief in soul-birds: there are still many myths of metamorphosis into birds after death: for example, those about Acantis, Aedon, Botres, Caeneus, Itys, Lycius, Munichus and his family, Pelia, Philomela, Procne, Scylla, Tereus; it is occasionally asserted that it was the soul of the protagonist which became a bird.⁸² There are also accounts where such metamorphoses into birds that did not take place after death:⁸³ in this connection, we must mention what Vergil wrote about Cynus, who was metamorphosed into a swan, and soared to the stars through his voice (and this was interpreted as a catasterization by Servius in his commentary to the passage); there are some other heroes named Cynus, who were also told to have become swans (sometimes after their death, sometimes without any reference to that circumstance).⁸⁴ Another interesting narrative of a metamorphosis into a bird is transmitted by Hyginus, who remarks that Merops of Cos was metamorphosed into an eagle that later became the constellation of the Eagle.⁸⁵ We may add the metamorphosis of the Pleiads into doves, then into stars.⁸⁶ Neither the Pleiads nor Merops died before being turned into birds, then into celestial bodies.

The eagle is also found occupying the same place as the portrait of the deceased in certain specimens of the Graeco-Syrian funerary art of the imperial times.⁸⁷ These

images seem to suggest that the eagle could be an image of the soul of the dead. For instance, Cumont studied a grave from Bâlkîs, on the Euphrates' shore, where the wall on the rear of the gallery leading to the sepulchral chamber showed to the right of the entrance an eagle spreading its wings, with a wreath or crown above; in the middle, there is a basket with another crown above it, and to the left, another eagle spreads its wings. Under those three images, we can see remnants of inscriptions alluding to persons.⁸⁸ There is also a white limestone plaque from Bâlkîs on which we see another eagle with spread wings over the inscription Ἀθηνόδωρος Γερ[μανοῦ].⁸⁹

Interesting continuations of the soul-bird motif continue to appear in early Christian art and literature, but these are not relevant to our argument, because, with few exceptions, Christian writers did not accept that the Sirens were souls or had anything to do with cosmic harmony.⁹⁰

From this examination, we see that beings similar (sometimes identical) to the Sirens represented souls. Sirens and soul-images shared at least two features: wings, in the realm of iconography, and being hybrid. Of course, there were other ways of representing souls, sometimes even without wings.⁹¹ We have seen that there were images where small winged *eidola* appeared alongside with fully human, real size representations of the deceased, and the same thing could happen in the already mentioned terracotta group of Malibu, where two Sirens flank a citharist (cf. II. 1. c. 2., and our pl. 16). Just as the presence of the winged *eidola* could mean that the boatman of certain scenes was Charon (instead of any human boatman), the presence of the Sirens in the Malibu group could mean that the scene was taking place in the Otherworld.

We may conclude that not all human-headed birds such as the Sirens would be a soul-image: this was only one of their possible meanings. But it is likely that Plato's

choice of the Sirens for his myth of Er could be inspired, at least in part, by those Sirens as images of the soul rather than by the Homeric Sirens.⁹²

⁶⁹ Kunze, 1932, 130, n. 2, and Pollard, 1965, 141.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Il.*, 23, 65-7 (ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο / πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' εἰκυῖα / καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χροῖ εἴματα ἔστο); *ibid.*, 23, 71 (τῆλέ με εἵργουσι ψυχαὶ εἶδωλα καμόντων), and the grammarian Apollodorus (II B. C. E.), fr. 10 (ὑποτίθεται γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς εἰδώλοις τοῖς ἐν τοῖς κατόπτροις φαινομένοις ὁμοίας). Vid. Wide, 1901, 152 (Homer anthropomorphized the soul the same way as he did with the gods); Otto, 1923, 23, and Halbwachs, 1930, 496, among others.

⁷¹ *Il.*, XVI, 856, and XXII, 362 (ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ ῥεθέων πταμένη Ἀϊδόσδε βεβήκει); *Il.*, XXIII, 880 (ὥκὺς δ' ἐκ μελέων θυμὸς πτάτο); *Od.*, XI, 207-8 (τρίς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἴκελον ἦ καὶ ὀνείρω / ἔπτατ'); *Od.*, XI, 222 (ψυχὴ δ' ἡὕτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται); *Batrachomyomachia*, 207-8 (τὸν δὲ πεσόντα / εἶλε μέλας θάνατος, ψυχὴ δ' ἐκ σώματος ἔπτη); thereafter, Sappho, fr. 55, vv. 3-4 Voigt (ἀλλ' ἀφάνης κὰν Ἀΐδα δόμῳ / φοιτάσης πεδ' ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα); Euripides, *Orestes*, 675-6 (θανόντ' ἀκούειν τάδε δόκει, ποτωμένην / ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ σοῦ); *AP*, IX, 286 ("Ορνι, τί μοι φίλον ὕπνον ἀφήρπασας; ἡδὺ δὲ Πύρρης / εἶδωλον κοίτης ὥχετ' ἀποπτάμενον). Cf. Hense, 1868, 123, and Weicker, 1902, 21.

⁷² A. *Od.*, XI, 605: ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κλαγγὴ νεκύων ἦν οἰωνῶν ὥς. Hofstetter, 1990, 9, has acknowledged that this verse and those alluding to the flight of the souls may hint at a belief in the soul-bird that was to be reflected in funerary art. We must point out that the word κλαγγή refers to the birds' song in the realm of the alive; cf. *Il.*, II, 459-63 (Τῶν δ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλά / ... / κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών). That word is also employed in the Homeric poems for the shouting of alive people (*Il.*, 2, 99-100: σπουδῇ δ' ἔξετο λαός, ἐρήτυθεν δὲ καθ' ἔδρας / παυσάμενοι κλαγγῆς).

B. For the comparison between souls and bats, cf. *Od.*, 24, v. 1-14: Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο / ἀνδρῶν μνηστήρων· ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσὶ / καλὴν χρυσεῖην, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει, / ὦν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει· / τῇ ῥ' ἄγε κινήσας, ταῖ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἔποντο. / ὥς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῶ ἄντρου θεσπεσίῳ / τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν / ὀρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνά τ' ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται, / ὥς αἱ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦσαν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν / Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα κατ' εὐρώεντα κέλευθα. / παρ δ' ἴσαν Ὀκεανοῦ τε ῥοὰς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην, / ἡδὲ παρ' Ἡελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον Ὀνείρων / ἦσαν· αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα, / ἔνθα τε ναίουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων. On this passage, RieB, 1894, 190, says that still Artemidorus reckoned the bats among the birds, in III, 65, p. 194, 3 ff. Hercher: Γλαυξ ἐλεὸς βύας αἰγωλὶὸς σκῶψ νυκτικόραξ καὶ προσέτι νυκτερίς καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο νυκτερινὸν ὄρνειον... Waser, 1902-9, col. 3221, assumes that the popular beliefs classified bats as birds. On the other hand, Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 5, 90, chose the verb τρίζω as the most appropriate for the cries of the bats (καὶ νυκτερίδας τετριγύναι).

C. The verb τρίζω ("utter a shrill cry") is said of Patroklos's soul in *Il.*, 23, 100-1: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἡύτε καπνὸς / ὥχετο τετριγυῖα. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 21 (φησὶ δ' Ἱερώνυμος κατελθόντα αὐτὸν εἰς ἄδου τὴν μὲν Ἡσιόδου ψυχὴν ἰδεῖν πρὸς κίονι χαλκῷ δεδεμένην καὶ τρίζουσαν); Lucianus, *Menipp.*, 11 (ἔνθα δὲ περιεπτόντο ἡμᾶς τετριγυῖαι τῶν νεκρῶν αἱ σκιαί); Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 567e (ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ἅμα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἔλεγε συνηρτῆσθαι καθάπερ μελίττας ἢ νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας καὶ τετριγυίας ὑπὸ μνήμης καὶ ὀργῆς ὦν ἔπαθον δι' αὐτάς); Philostratus, VA, 2, 4 (καὶ τὸ φάσμα φυγῇ ὥχετο τετριγύς, ὥσπερ τὰ εἶδωλα); Philostratus Maior, *Imagines*, 1, 4 (καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ ἦδη ἄπεισι, μικρὸν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τετριγυίας αὐτῆς ἀκούσῃ). The verb τρίζω is said also of young birds; cf. *Il.*, 2, 311-4: ἔνθα δ' ἔσαν στρουθοῖο νεοσσοί, νήπια τέκνα, / ... / ἔνθ' ὅ γε τοὺς ἐλεεινὰ κατήσθιε

ΤΕΤΡΙΓΩΤΑΣ. Cf. Benndorf, 1868, 65, and Rieß, 1894, 189. There are some echoes in Latin poetry, from Attius's *Alcestis* (Ribbeck, ²1871, 143: *cum striderat retracta rursus inferis*) to Lucanus (VI, 623: *auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra*, quoted from <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/lucan/lucan6.shtml>, as consulted on Nov. 3rd 2004), and Claudianus, *In Rufinum*, I, 126 (*illic umbrarum tenui stridore volantum / flebilis auditur questus*); cf. Dilthey, 1872, 399.

⁷³ Style of the Tymbos Painter, now in the “Antikensammlung der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena (Inv. V 225; our pl. 18; thanks to Prof. Dr. Dennis Graen, Chair of Classical Archaeology at the “Friedrich Schiller” University of Jena, for sending it to us and allowing us to reproduce it; cf. also Waser, 1902-9, col. 3231, fig. 17; Marót, 1960, 136, and pl. XI; Furtwängler, Reichold, and Hauser, 1932, III, 29, fig. 12). These vases are especially interesting for our purpose here, because they were made exclusively for being placed in the tombs; cf. Gardner, 1893, 20, and Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazousai*, 996 (ὅς τοῖς νεκροῖσι ζωγραφεῖ τὰς ληκύθους). For Hermes as the god who leads the souls to the Other World (or the way back too), cf. Homer, *Od.*, I, 24 (Ἑρμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιος ἐξεκαλεῖτο); Aeschylus, *Persae*, 629-30 (Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεὺ τ' ἐνέρων / πέμψατ' ἐνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς); Diodorus Siculus, I, 96, 6 (τὸν ψυχοπομπὸν Ἑρμῆν); Cornutus (first century C. E.), *De natura deorum*, 16, p. 22, l. 7-10 Lang (ψυχοπομπὸν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι συμβάλλοντες, ὅπερ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν· διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ῥάβδον αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι); Vergilius, *Aen.*, IV, 242-3 (*tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit*); Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 31 (τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπάϊον λέγεσθαι καὶ ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν); Ps. Orpheus, *Hymni*, 57, 2-3 (ὅς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης, Ἑρμῇ); *scholion* to Pindar, *O.* 8, 106 (Ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἄγγελος τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἄϊδην ψυχοπομπός).

⁷⁴ Cf. also Vermeule, 1979, 9, fig. 4, where winged *eidola* of souls welcome another soul, brought by Hermes to Charon's boat (Attic white-ground *lékythos*, by the Sabouroff Painter, fifth cent. B. C. E., Athens, National Museum, 1926; cf. Beazley, ²1963, 846, Nr. 193; Riezler, 1914, pl. 44a); our pl. 19 (Attic white-ground *lékythos*, fifth cent. B. C. E., Boston, 95.47, style of the London Painter E 342; cf. Beazley, J. D., ²1963, 670, Nr. 17, and Vermeule, 1979, 31, fig. 23), and our pl. 20 (Attic black-figured *lékythos*, early fifth century B. C. E., London, B 639, Sappho's Painter; cf. Haspels, 1936, 227, app. XI, No. 28, pl. 36, 1, and Vermeule, 1979, 161, fig. 14). Baumeister, 1889, 1424; Jahn, 1847, 136-7, and Waser, 1902-9, col. 3222, connect these images with the Homeric passages quoted in nn. 71-72 of this section. There are images in which, besides the small winged figures, the people of whom Charon is taking care have an entirely human figure and no wings at all, as we can see on a *lékythos* from the Musée du Louvre (cf. Waser, 1902-9, cols. 3227-8, fig. 15). In such images, the small winged figures may represent souls separated from their bodies, or just be a way to indicate that the scene belongs to the Other World. However, Nicole, 1877-1919, 746, fig. 5838, reproduces an image from an “eschara”, now in Frankfurt (Liebieghaus, Inv. 560) in which there are only winged *eidola* around Charon's boat (our pl. 21, for which we thank Salvatore Mancuso, Liebieghaus Frankfurt; cf. Höfer, 1902-9, col. 2783, fig. 2; Furtwängler, 1905, 191; Höfer, 1902-9, fig. 1, and Sourvinou-Inwood, 1986, esp. p. 212). Other images of these εἰδῶλα may be seen in Benndorf, 1868, plates XIV and XXXIII, and pp. 34 and 65; cf. also Körte, 1905, and Waser, 1913, 360-82. For wingless images of the soul, cf. Waser, 1902-9, esp. cols. 3219-3225; *eiusd.*, 1913, 360-82; Nilsson, ³1967, 197, n. 1, and Stähler, 1967, 33-9.

⁷⁵ Vid. our pl. 22, taken from Baumeister, 1885-8, I, 736, fig. 789; cf. also Waser, 1902-9, col. 3223, fig. 13, and Baumeister, 1885-8, I, p. 735 ff.

⁷⁶ Cf. Waser, 1902-9, col. 3233; Waser, 1902-9, col. 3217, and 1913, 377, suggested also a relationship between the winged εἰδῶλα and the images of the soul as a bird; cf. Weicker, 1905, esp. 209.

⁷⁷ a) Cf. Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992, VI, 1, p. 456, No. 63, and VI, 2, p. 237, No. 63 (our pl. 23); Reinach, 1899-1900, vol. I, 347, fig. 2, and Waser, 1902-9, col. 3218-9. According to Kossatz-Deissmann, 1992, VI, 1, p. 456, the bird does not represent the soul of Memnon, but it may refer to the Memnonides, Memnon's fellows who, according to Ovid, *Met.*, XIII, 604-9, became birds after the death of the hero (*atra favilla volat glomerataque corpus in unum / densetur faciemque capit sumitque calorem / atque animam ex igni (levitas sua praebebat alas) / et primo similis volucris, mox vera volucris / insonuit pennis, pariter sonuere sorores / innumerae, quibus est eadem natalis origo*, quoted from <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/ovid/ovid.met13.shtml>, as consulted on Nov. 2nd 2004). About the Memnonides, cf. also: Moschus, *Epitaphium Bionis*, 41-3 (οὐ τόσον ἄφοισιν ἐν ἄγκυραι παῖδα τὸν Ἀοῦς / ἱπτάμενος περὶ σάμα κινύρατο Μέμνονος ὄρνις); Quintus of Smyrna, II, 643-5 (τοὺς δ' Ἑριγένεια βοῶπις / πόλλ' ὀλοφυρομένους κρατεροῦ περὶ σήματι παιδὸς / οἰωνοὺς ποίησε καὶ ἡέρι δῶκε φέρεσθαι); Servius, *In Aen.*, 1, 751 (*AVRORAE FILIVS Memnon. ideo autem dixit 'quibus armis', quia Vulcaniis armis usus fuisse narratur. AVRORAE FILIVS ARMIS quia etiam ei fecerat arma Vulcanus. qui cum auxilium Troianis ferret, apud Troiam occisus est. hic in tanto amore apud suos socios fuit, ut post eius mortem cum eum nimium deflerent miseratione deorum in aves conversi dicantur et quotannis venire ad tumulum eius et ibi lamentatione et fletibus se dilacerare, donec aliquantae ibidem moriantur*); Lactantius, *Argumenta fabularum Ovidianarum*, 13, 3 (*Memnon, Tithoni et Aurorae filius, Priamo ferens auxilium fab 3 ab Achille occiditur. mater ergo precibus pro assiduo officio inducendae lucis ab Iove impetrat, ut in cineres eius adusto rogo sorores con//5//vertantur in volucres Memnonides nomine*, quoted from <http://etext.virginia.edu/latin/ovid/narrationes.html>, May 23rd 2011). Cf. still Holland, 1895. Nevertheless, we may see that these legends are far later than the amphora, and it seems hazardous to interpret the latter assuming that they were already current when the amphora was made.

b) We may compare the legend about Diomedes' fellows, in Ant. Lib., 37, 5 (Διὸς δὲ βουλῇ τὰ σώματα μὲν ἠφανίσθη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, αἱ ψυχαὶ δὲ μετέβαλον εἰς ὄρνιθας), and Aelian, I, 1 (Καλεῖται τις Διομήδεια νῆσος, καὶ ἐρωδιοὺς ἔχει πολλοὺς. [...] λέγονται οὖν οὗτοι Διομήδους ἐταῖροι εἶναι).

⁷⁸ Cf. Buchholz, 1996, pl. 46 d, and Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1893, 301, and Buchholz, 1996, 41-2.

⁷⁹ A. The epitaph for Plato, transmitted by Diogenes Laertius, III, 44, is in *Anthologia Graeca*, VII, 62 (Αἰετέ, τίπτε βέβηκας ὑπὲρ τάφον ἢ τίνος, εἰπέ, / ἀστερόεντα θεῶν οἶκον ἀποσκοπέεις;- / "Ψυχῆς εἰμι Πλάτωνος ἀποπταμένης ἐς Ὀλυμπον / εἰκῶν· σῶμα δὲ γῇ γηγενὲς Ἀτθίς ἔχει). Other sources: Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannos*, 175-7 (ἄλλον δ' ἂν ἄλλω προσίδοις ἅπερ εὐπτερον ὄρνιν / κρείσσον ἀμυμακέτου πυρὸς ὄρμενον / ἀκτὰν πρὸς ἐσπέρου θεοῦ.) Pollard, 1977, 189, argued that "this is a far cry from a belief that all souls assumed bird form," and we would reply: certainly not all, but many of them, as we can see through the remaining texts and monuments mentioned in this chapter.

B. With respect to Aristes of Proconnesus, Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VII, 174, tells that the soul of Aristes of Proconnesus was seen going out from his mouth in the shape of a raven (*Aristeae (sc. animam) etiam visam evolantem ex ore in Proconneso corvi effigie*); cf. Maximus Tyrius, 10, 2 (Προκονησίῳ ἀνδρὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔκειτο ἔμπνουν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀμυδρῶς καὶ ἐγγύτατα θανάτου· ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἐκδύσα τοῦ σώματος, ἐπλανάτο ἐν τῷ αἰθέρι, ὄρνιθος δίκην); but vid. Herodotus, IV, 15 (φάναι γάρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἔων Ἀριστέης· τότε δέ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ.)

C. Antoninus Liberalis, 1, 5 (τεκοῦσα δ' ἡ Κτήσυλλα καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐκ τοῦ τόκου διατεθεῖσα ἐτελεύτησε κατὰ δαίμονα, ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς ἐψεύσατο τὸν ὄρκον. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κομίσαντες ἔφερον ὅπως κηδεύσωσιν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς στρωμνῆς πελειὰς ἐξέπτῃ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῆς Κτησύλλης ἀφανὲς ἐγένετο); D. S., II, 20, 1-2 (Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον ὑπὸ Νινύου τοῦ οἰοῦ δι' εὐνούχου τινὸς ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα, καὶ τὸ παρ' Ἄμμωνος λόγιον ἀνανεωσαμένη, τὸν ἐπιβουλευσάντα κακὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, τοῦναντίον δὲ τὴν

βασιλείαν αὐτῇ παραδοῦσα καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἀκούειν ἐκείνου προστάξασα, ταχέως ἠφάνισεν ἑαυτήν, ὡς εἰς θεοὺς κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν μεταστησομένη. 2.20.2.1 ἔνιοι δὲ μυθολογοῦντές φασιν αὐτὴν γενέσθαι περιστερὰν, καὶ πολλῶν ὀρνέων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καταπετασθέντων μετ' ἐκείνων ἐκπετασθῆναι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὴν περιστερὰν τιμὰν ὡς θεόν, ἀπαθανατίζοντας τὴν Σεμίραμιν); Luc., *De dea Syria*, 14 (τὸ Σεμράμιος τέλος ἐς περιστερὴν ἀπύκετο); Ps. Callisthenes, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, III, 33, 26-27 (ἐφάνη μέγας ἀστὴρ πεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀετὸς μέγας, καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα Διὸς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐκινήθη. ὁ δὲ ἀστὴρ πάλιν ἀνήλθεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ὁ ἀετὸς σὺν αὐτῷ); Lucianus, *De morte Peregrini*, 39 (ἐπειδὴ ἀνήφθη μὲν ἡ πυρά, ἐνέβαλεν δὲ φέρων ἑαυτὸν ὁ Πρωτεύς,... γυῖψ ἀναπτάμενος ἐκ μέσης τῆς φλογὸς οἴχοιτο ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνθρωπιστι, μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λέγων· "ἔλιπον γὰρ, βαίνω δ' ἐς "Ολύμπου"); Dionysius Periegeta, *Ixeutikon*, 1, 8 (Οἱ δὲ ὄρνεις οἱ μέμονες... ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου τοῦ Μέμονος ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους,... δεικνύντες, οἶμαι, κἀντεῦθεν, ὡς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν μεταβληθέντες εἰς ὄρνεις οὔτε τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς, οὔτε τῆς πολεμικῆς ὀλιγωροῦσι μελέτης.)

D. Several epigrams mention the wings of the soul as well: cf., among others, epigram No. 312 Kaibel, vv. 1-5 (Νῦξ μὲν ἐμὸν κατέχει φάος ὑποδοτεῖρη, / ἀλγιν[ῶν] λύσσα νόσων δέμας ἡδέϊ ὕπνῳ, / λήθης δῶρα φέρουσ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ προστ[άγ]ματι μοίρης· / ψυχὴ δ' ἐ(κ) κραδίης δ[ρ]άμ' ἐς αἴθερον εἵκελος αὔρηι, / κοῦφον ἐπαιωροῦσα δρόμ[ω]ι πετρὸν ἥερι πολλῶι...); AP, 5, 57 (Τὴν πυρὶ νηχομένην ψυχὴν ἄν πολλάκι καίης, / φεύξετ', Ἐρως· καὐτὴ, σκέτλι', ἔχει πτέρυγας); AP, 8, 12, v. 5 (ψυχὴ δὲ πτερόεσσα λάχεν Θεόν); AP, 8, 33 (by St. Gregorius of Nazianzus: Ψυχὴ μὲν πτερόεσσα πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἦλυθε Νόννης); cf. also St. Gregorius of Nazianzus, *Carmnia de se ipso*, PG, 37, 1283, lines 9-10 (Σκεῦαζε σαυτὸν ὡς τάχος, πρὸς οὐρανὸν / Ψυχὴν πτερώσας τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τιμάν).

⁸⁰ Ovid, *Met.*, XV, 457: *verum etiam volucres animae sumus*; Vergil, *Aen.*, VI, 298-312: *portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina seruat / terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento / canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flamma, / sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus. / ipse ratem conto subigit uelisque ministrat / et ferruginea subuectat corpora cumba, / iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus. / huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat, / matres atque uiri defunctaque corpora uita / magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae, / impositique rogis iuuenes ante ora parentum: / quam multa in siluis autumnus frigore primo / lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto / quam multae glomerantur aues, ubi frigidus annus / trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.*

⁸¹ Horace, *Carm.*, II, 20: *Non usitata nec tenui ferar / pinna biformis per liquidum aethera / vates neque in terris morabor / longius invidiae maior / urbis relinquam. non ego, pauperum / sanguis parentum, non ego, quem vocas, / dilecte Maecenas, obibo / nec Stygia cohibebor unda. / iam iam residunt cruribus asperae / pelles et album mutor in alitem / superne nascunturque leves / per digitos umerosque plumae. / iam Daedaleo notior Icaro / visam gementis litora Bospori / Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus / ales Hyperboreosque campos.*

⁸² A. About Aedon, cf. Ant. Lib., 11:

(1.) Πανδάρεως ὥκει τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἑφείας, ἣν ἔστιν νῦν ὁ πρηνὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν· ᾧ διδοὶ Δημήτηρ δῶρον μηδέποτε βαρυνθῆναι τὴν γαστέρα ὑπὸ σιτίων, ὁπόσον ἂν πλῆθος εἰσενέγκηται. (2.) ἐγένετο δὲ τῷ Πανδάρεω θυγάτηρ Ἀηδὼν· ταύτην Πολύτεχνος ὁ τέκτων ἔγημεν, ὃς ὥκει ἐν Κολοφῶνι τῆς Λυδίας, καὶ πλείστον χρόνον ἐτέρποντο συνοικοῦντες ἀλλήλοις. ἐγένετο δ' αὐτοῖς παῖς μονογενὴς Ἴτυς. (3.) ἄχρῳ μὲν οὖν θεοὺς ἐτίμων, εὐδαίμονες ἦσαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ λόγον ἀχρεῖον ἀπέρριψαν, ὅτι πλέον ἀλλήλους Ἦρας καὶ Διὸς φιλοῦσι, καὶ Ἦρα, μεμψαμένη τὸν λόγον, Ἦριν αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψεν· ἡ δὲ νεῖκος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὰ ἔργα. καὶ Πολυτέχνῳ μὲν ὀλίγον ἦν ἔτι δίφρον ἀρμάτιον ἐκποιῆσαι, Ἀηδὼν δὲ τὸν ἰστὸν ἐξυφῆναι καὶ συντίθενται εἰς ἀλλήλους ὅπως <ὀποτέρῳ> ἂν τάχιον ἀνυσθῇ τὸ ἔργον, τούτῳ θεράπαινα παρὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου γένηται. (4.) καὶ ἐπειδὴ θάσσον ἡ Ἀηδὼν τὸν ἰστὸν ἐξῦφαιεν (Ἦρα γὰρ αὐτῇ συνελάμβανεν), ὁ Πολύτεχνος

ἀχθόμενος τῇ νίκῃ τῆς Ἀηδόνας ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὸν Πανδάρεω καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀηδόνας προσεποιήσατο πεμφθῆναι, ὅπως αὐτῇ Χελιδόνα τὴν ἀδελφὴν [ἄν] ἀπαγάγῃ, καὶ ὁ Πανδάρεω οὐδὲν ὑπονοήσας πονηρὸν δίδωσιν ἀπάγειν. (5.) ὁ δὲ Πολύτεχνος παραλαβὼν τὴν κόρην ἤσυχεν ἐν τῇ λόχμῃ καὶ ἄλλοις ἡμφίεσεν αὐτὴν ἐσθήμασι καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπέκλειρε τὴν κόμην καὶ ἠπειλήσε θάνατον, εἰ ἔξερεῖ ποτε ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν Ἀηδόνα. (6.) καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ οἰκία παραδίδωσι τῇ Ἀηδόνι κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ὡς θεράπαιναν τὴν ἀδελφὴν, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴν διέφθειρε πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, μέχρις ἢ Χελιδών[ις] ἔχουσα κάλπιν πλείστα παρὰ τὴν κρηνίδα κατωδύρετο καὶ αὐτῆς ἐπηκροάσατο τὸν λόγον ἢ Ἀηδών. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀλλήλας ἔγνωσαν καὶ ἡσπάσαντο, ἐπεβούλευον τῷ Πολυτέχνῳ συμφορὰν. (7.) καὶ τὸν παῖδα κατακόψασαι <καὶ> τὰ κρέα ἐν λέβητι συνθεῖσαι ταῦτα μὲν ἤψον, Ἀηδών δὲ φράσασα πρὸς ἑαυτῆς γείτονα εἰπεῖν Πολυτέχνῳ δαίσασθαι τῶν κρεῶν, ἀφίκετο σὺν τῇ ἀδελφῇ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Πανδάρεω καὶ ἐδήλωσεν οἷα ἐχρήσατο συμφορᾷ. Πολύτεχνος δὲ μαθὼν ὅτι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδαίσατο τὰ κρέα, μετεδίωξεν αὐτὰς ἄχρι[ς] πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸν οἱ θεράποντες οἱ τοῦ Πανδάρεω συνέλαβον καὶ ἔδωκαν ἀφύκτῳ δεσμῷ, ὅτι ἐνελωβάτο εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Πανδάρεω, καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐναλείψαντες μέλιτι κατέβαλον εἰς τὰ ποιμνία. (8.) καὶ Πολύτεχνον μὲν αἱ μυῖαι προσίζουσιν ἐλυμαίνοντο, Ἀηδών δὲ οἰκτεῖρασα πρὸς τὴν παλαιὰν φιλίαν ἀπείργεν ἐκ τοῦ Πολυτέχνου τὰς μυῖας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ<ν> κατεφράσθησαν οἱ γονεῖς τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, μισήσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἀποκτείνειν. (9.) Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸ τοῦ μείζον κακὸν ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν Πανδάρεω οἰκτεῖρας ἐποίησε πάντας ὄρνιθας· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐξέπτησαν ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα. Πανδάρεω μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο ἀλκίαιετος, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ τῆς Ἀηδόνας ἀλκυὼν, καὶ εὐθύς ἐβούλοντο καταβαλεῖν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐκώλυσεν. (10.) οὗτοι τοῖς πλέουσιν οἱ ὄρνιθες αἴσιοι φαίνονται. Πολύτεχνος δὲ μεταβαλὼν ἐγένετο πελεκάν, ὅτι Ἥφαιστος αὐτῷ πέλεκυν ἔδωκε τεκταίνοντι· καὶ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ὁ ὄρνις φανεῖς τέκτονι. ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀηδόνας ἀδελφὸς ἐγένετο ἔποψ <ὄρνις> αἴσιος καὶ πλέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς φανεῖς, σὺν ἀλκίαιετῳ δὲ ἢ ἀλκυόνι μάλλον. (11.) Ἀηδών δὲ καὶ Χελιδών[ις], ἡ μὲν παρὰ ποταμοὺς καὶ λόχμας τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἴτυν θρηνεῖ, Χελιδών[ις] δ' ἐγένετο σύνοικος ἀνθρώποις Ἀρτέμιδος βουλή, διότι κατ' ἀνάγκας ἐκλιπούσα τὴν παρθενίαν πλείστα τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐπεβοήσατο.

B. About Akanthis, Akanthos, Anthos, Erodios, and Schoineus, cf. Ant. Lib., 7, 1-6:

(1.) Αὐτονόου τοῦ Μελανέως καὶ Ἰπποδαμείας ἐγένοντο υἱοὶ μὲν Ἐρφιδίος [καὶ] Ἄνθος Σχοινεὺς Ἄκανθος, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἄκανθίς, ἥ κάλλιστον εἶδος ἔδωκεν οἱ θεοί. (2.) τῷ δὲ Αὐτονόῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο ἵππων ἀγέλαι πλείστα καὶ ἔνεμον αὐτὰς Ἰπποδάμεια τούτου γυνή, καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν. (3.) ἐπεὶ δὲ Αὐτονόῳ γῆν ἔχοντι πλείστην οὐδεὶς καρπὸς ἐφαίνετο κατ' ὀλιγορίας ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἔφερεν αὐτῷ σχοίνους ὁ χώρος καὶ ἀκάνθας, ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠνόμασε τοὺς παῖδας Ἄκανθον καὶ Σχοινέα καὶ Ἀκανθίδα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον Ἐρφιδίον, ἐπεὶ <αὐτόν> ἠρώησεν ὁ χώρος. (4.) οὗτος ὁ Ἐρφιδίος πλείστον ἐφύλησε τὰς ἀγέλας τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἔτρεφεν αὐτὰς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἄνθος τοῦ Αὐτονόου παῖς ἐξήλασε τὰς ἵππους ἐκ τοῦ λειμῶνος, αὐταὶ εἰργόμεναι τροφῆς ἐξεθύμηναν καὶ τὸν Ἄνθον ἐπιστάσαι κατεβίβρωσκον πλείστα ἐπιβώμενον ἀμύναι τοὺς θεοὺς. (5.) ὁ μὲν οὖν πατὴρ ὑπὸ ἄχους ἐκπλάγεις ὤκνησεν ἀπελάσαι τὰς ἵππους καὶ ὁ θεράπων τοῦ παιδὸς, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ διεμάχετο πρὸς τὰς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν οὐδὲν ἐδυνήθη πρὸς τὸν ὀλεθρον ἐπαμύναι. (6.) κάκεινοι μὲν οὕτω τεθνεώτα τὸν Ἄνθον ἔκλαιον, Ζεὺς δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων οἰκτεῖραντες πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν ὄρνιθας.

C. About Alcyone and Keyx, cf.

C. 1. Ps. Apollodorus, I, 52: Ἀλκυόνην δὲ Κῆρυξ ἔγημεν Ἐωσφόρου παῖς. οὗτοι δὲ δι' ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀπώλοντο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔλεγεν Ἥραν, ἡ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Δία, Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπωρνήσε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀλκυόνα ἐποίησε τὸν δὲ κήρυκα.

D. About Botres, Ant. Lib., 18:

(1.) Εὐμηλος ὁ παῖς ὁ Εὐγνώτου κατάρκησεν ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Βοιωτίαις καὶ αὐτῷ παῖς ἐγένετο Βότρης ὄνομα. οὗτος ὁ Εὐμηλος ἐτίμα μεγαλομερῶς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. (2.) καὶ ποτε θύοντος αὐτοῦ παρὼν ὁ παῖς

Βότρης ἐδάϊσατο τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ ἄρνός πρὶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καταθῆσαι· μαθὼν δὲ τὸ γεγονὸς Εὐμηλος προσέκρουσε κατ' ὀργὴν πρὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τὸν δαλὸν ἀφελὼν ἐκ τοῦ βωμοῦ· καὶ ὁ παῖς καταρρυσθέντος τοῦ αἵματος καταπεσὼν ἤσπαιρεν. (3.) ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὥς εἶδε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ θέραπες, μέγιστον ἐποίησαντο πένθος· Ἀπόλλων δὲ οἰκτεῖρας, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν Εὐμηλος ἐτίμα, ὄρνιθα ἐποίησε τὸν παῖδα ἡέροπον, ὃς ἔτι νῦν τίττει μὲν ὑπὸ γῆς, αἰεὶ δὲ μελετᾷ πέτεσθαι.

D. About Caeneus, Ovid, *Met.*, 12, 514–31:

obrutus inmani cumulo sub pondere Caeneus / (515) aestuat arboreo congestaque robora duris / fert umeris, sed enim postquam super ora caputque / crevit onus neque habet, quas ducat, spiritus auras, / deficit interdum, modo se super aera frustra / tollere conatur iactasque evolvere silvas / (520) interdumque movet, veluti, quam cernimus, ecce, / ardua si terrae quatiatur motibus Ide. / exitus in dubio est: alii sub inania corpus / Tartara detrusum silvarum mole ferebant; / abnuat Ampycides medioque ex aggere fulvis / (525) vidit avem pennis liquidas exire sub auras, / quae mihi tum primum, tunc est conspecta supremum. / hanc ubi lustrantem leni sua castra volatu / Mopsus et ingenti circum clangore sonantem / adspexit pariterque animis oculisque secutus / (530) "o salve," dixit "Lapithaeae gloria gentis, / maxime vir quondam, sed nunc avis unica, Caeneu!"

E. About Itys, cf.:

E. 1. Ps. Apollodorus, III, 193-5: Πανδίων δὲ γήμας Ζευξίπτην τῆς μητρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν θυγατέρας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Πρόκνην καὶ Φιλομήλαν, παῖδας δὲ διδύμους Ἐρεχθέα καὶ Βούτην. πολέμου δὲ ἐξαναστάντος πρὸς Λάβδακον περὶ γῆς ὅρων ἐπεκαλέσατο βοηθὸν ἐκ Θρᾷκης Τηρέα τὸν Ἄρεος, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον σὺν αὐτῷ κατορθώσας ἔδωκε Τηρεῖ πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Πρόκνην. (194.) ὁ δὲ ἐκ ταύτης γεννήσας παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ Φιλομήλας ἐρασθεὶς ἔφθειρε καὶ ταύτην, εἰπὼν τεθνάναι Πρόκνην, κρύπτων ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων. αὐτὴς δὲ γήμας Φιλομήλαν συνηυνάζετο, καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν ἐξέτεμεν αὐτῆς. ἡ δὲ ὑφίνασα ἐν πέπλῳ γράμματα διὰ τούτων ἐμήνυσε Πρόκνη τὰς ἰδίας συμφοράς. (195.) ἡ δὲ ἀναζητήσασα τὴν ἀδελφὴν κτείνει τὸν παῖδα Ἴτυν, καὶ καθεψήσασα Τηρεῖ δειπνον ἀγνοοῦντι παρατίθησι· καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς διὰ τάχους ἔφυγε. Τηρεὺς δὲ αἰσθόμενος, ἀρπάσας πέλεκυν ἐδίωκεν. αἱ δὲ ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος γινόμεναι περικατάληπτοι θεοῖς εὐχονται ἀπορνεωθῆναι, καὶ Πρόκνη μὲν γίνεται ἀηδὼν, Φιλομήλα δὲ χελιδὼν· ἀπορνεοῦται δὲ καὶ Τηρεὺς, καὶ γίνεται ἔποψ.

E. 2. Servius, *Ecl.*, 6, 78: *TEREI pro 'Terei': nam per synaeresin dictum est, sicut supra "furtumque Promethei" pro 'Promethei'. Tereus autem rex Thracum fuit, qui cum Atheniensibus tulisset auxilium ac Pandionis, Athenarum regis, filiam, Procnen nomine, duxisset uxorem et post aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur, ut sibi Philomelam sororem suam videndam accersiret, profectus Athenas dum adducit puellam, eam vitiauit in itinere et ei linguam, ne facinus indicaret, abscidit, inclusamque in stabulis reliquit, ementitus coniugi eam perisse naufragio. illa tamen rem in veste suo cruore descriptam misit sorori: qua cognita Procne Itym filium interemit et patri epulandum adposuit. alii Tereum finxisse socero dicunt, Procnen uxorem mortuam, et petisse Philomelam in matrimonium, et hoc dolore compulsam Procnen occidisse filium et epulandum patri apposuisse. quas cum Tereus agnito scelere insequeretur, omnes in aves mutati sunt: Tereus in upupam, Itys in fassam, Procne in hirundinem, Philomela in lusciniam.*

E. 3. Sch. in Ar. Av., 212: πολὺδακρυν Ἴτυν· ἐπειδὴ ὁ Ἴτυς υἱὸς ἦν Τηρέως καὶ Πρόκνης τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς. Πανδίων γὰρ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς Πρόκνην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα εἰς γάμον ἐκδίδωσι τῷ Τηρεῖ Θρακῶν δυναστεύοντι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Θρᾷκην μετὰ Πρόκνης, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχεν Ἴτυν. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον συχνὸν ποθοῦσης τὴν ἀδελφὴν Φιλομήλαν τῆς Πρόκνης ἰδεῖν, ὁ Τηρεὺς Ἀθήναζε ἀπελθὼν καὶ λαβὼν καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτὴν διεκόρευσε, καὶ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῆς ἀπέτεμεν, μὴ δῆλα θεῖν τὰ πρᾶχθέντα τῇ Πρόκνῃ. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὑφαίνουσα διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσε τὸ συμβάν. Πρόκνη μὲν οὖν μαθοῦσα τὴν συμφορὰν, σφάξασα τὸν υἱὸν Ἴτυν εἰς βρώσιν παρέθηκε τῷ Τηρεῖ. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς,

ἐδίωκεν αὐτὰς ξίφει ποῦ ποῦ φθειγόμενος. Φιλομήλα μὲν δὴ Τηρεὺς ἦν βοῶσα τῷ φόβῳ, Πρόκνη δὲ τὸν Ἴτυν θρηνοῦσα Ἴτυ Ἴτυ ἐλεεινῶς ἐφθέγγετο. τοῦ δὲ Διὸς ἐλεοῦντος ἡ μὲν Πρόκνη εἰς ἀηδόνα, ἡ δὲ Φιλομήλα εἰς χελιδόνα μεταβληθεῖσαι, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς εἰς ἔποπα, ταῦτά φθέγγονται μέγρι καὶ νῦν ἔκαστος, ἃ γε μετὰ τὴν συμφορὰν μὲν πρὸ τῆς ἀπορνεώσεως δέ.

E. 4. *Mythographi Vaticani*, I, 4: *Tereus rex Thracum fuit. Qui quum Pandionis, Athenarum regis, filiam, Procnen nomine, duxisset uxorem, et per aliquantum tempus ab ea rogaretur, sibi Philomelam sororem videndam accerseret, profectus Athenas, dum adduxit Puellas, eam vitiavit in itinere, et ei linguam, ne facinus indicaret, abscidit. Illa tamen querelam, in veste suo cruore descriptam, misit sorori. Qua cognita, Procne Ityn filium interemit et patri epulandum apposuit. Postea omnes in aves mutati sunt; Tereus in urupam, Itys in phasianum, Procne in hirundinem, Philomela in lusciniam.*

F. About Lycius, cf. *Ant. Lib.*, 20, 3-7:

καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ὄνοις λύσσαν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τοὺς θέραπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Κλεῖνιν κατήσθιον. (...) Λύκιος δὲ μεταβαλὼν ἐγένετο κόραξ τὸ χρῶμα λευκός, αὐτὶς δὲ βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγένετο κυάνεος.

G. About Munichus and his family, vid.

1. Ovid, *Met.*, 13, 717-8: *nati rege Molosso / inopia subiectis fugere incendia pennis.*

2. *Ant. Lib.*, 14:

Μούνιχος ὁ Δρύαντος ἐβασίλευσε Μολοσσῶν καὶ ἐγένετο μάντις ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνὴρ δίκαιος. ἔσχε δὲ παῖδας ἐκ Ληλάντης Ἄλκανδρον, ἀμείνονα μάντιν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ Μεγαλήτωρα καὶ Φιλαῖον καὶ θυγατέρα Ὑπερίππην. (2.) τοὺτους γενομένους πάντας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ἐφύλησαν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν νυκτὸς ἐπελθόντες λησται συνελάμβανον, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πύργων ἔβαλλον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ἰσόμαχοι) <καὶ> πῦρ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ κλώπες εἰς τὰ οἰκία. Ζεὺς δ' οὐ περιείδεν αὐτοὺς ὁσιότητος ἕνεκα τελευτήσαντας οἰκτίστω θανάτῳ, μετέβαλε δὲ πάντας εἰς ὄρνιθας. (3.) καὶ Ὑπερίππη μὲν ἐπεὶ φυγοῦσα τὸ πῦρ εἰς ὕδωρ κατέδυ γέγονεν αἶθυια· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνέπτησαν, Μούνιχος μὲν τριόρχης γενόμενος, Ἄλκανδρος δὲ ὀρχίλος. Μεγαλήτῳ δὲ καὶ Φιλαίῳ, ὅτι τὸ πῦρ φεύγοντες διὰ τοῦ τοίχου παρὰ τὴν γῆν ἔδυσαν, ἐγένοντο μικροὶ δύο ὄρνιθες· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν ἰχνεύμων, Φιλαῖος δ' ὀνομάζεται κύων. (4.) ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο κνιπολόγος πῦρ. πρὸς ταύτην ἀετῷ πόλεμος ἔστι καὶ ἐρῳδιῷ· κατάγνυσι γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ φά κόπτουσα τὴν δρῦν διὰ τοὺς κνίπας. καὶ εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύννομοι ἐν ὕλῃ καὶ παρὰ κευθμῶνας, αἶθυια δὲ ἐγένετο πρὸς λίμνας τε καὶ †θαλάσση.†

H. About Pelia, vid. Servius, *In Ecl.*, 8, 37:

Melus quidam, in Delo insula ortus, relicta patria fugit ad insulam Cyprum, in qua eo tempore Cinyras regnabat, habens filium Adonem. hic Melum sociatum Adoni filio iussit esse, cumque eum videret esse indolis bonae, propinquam suam, dicatam et ipsam Veneri, quae Pelia dicebatur, Melo coniunxit. ex quibus nascitur Melus, quem Venus propterea quod Adonis amore teneretur, tamquam amati filium inter aras praecepit nutriri. sed postquam Adonis apri ictu extinctus est, senex Melus cum dolore mortis Adonis ferre non posset, laqueo se ad arborem suspendens vital finit: ex cuius nomine melus appellata est. Pelia autem coniux eius in ea arbore se adpendens necata est. Venus misericordia eorum mortis ducta, Adoni luctum continuum praestitit, Melum in pomum sui nominis vertit, Peliam coniugem eius in columbam mutavit.

I. About Philomela, vid. Ps. Apollodorus, III, 193-5 (*supra*, E. 1., in this same note), and Paus., 1, 41, 8-9:

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν καὶ Τηρεῖ τὰ ἐς Φιλομήλαν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ <τὰ> περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν ὑπὸ τῶν γυναι- (9.) κῶν, ἐλεῖν σφᾶς ὁ Τηρεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις αὐτοχειρία, καὶ οἱ τάφον αὐτίκα ἔχωσαν καὶ θύουσιν ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ψηφίσιν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ ἀντὶ οὐλῶν χρώμενοι καὶ τὸν ἔποπα τὸν ὄρνιθα ἐνταῦθα φανῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσιν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐς μὲν Ἀθήνας ἀφίκοντο, θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἶα θρηνοῦσαι δὲ οἶα ἔπαθον καὶ οἶα ἀντέδρασαν ὑπὸ δακρῶν διαφθείρονται, καὶ σφισι τὴν ἐς ἀηδόνα καὶ χελιδόνα

μεταβολὴν ἐπεφήμισαν ὅτι οἶμαι καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ ὄρνιθες ἐλεεινὸν καὶ θρήνῳ ὅμοιον ᾄδουσιν.

J. About Scylla, vid.:

J. 1. Ps. Vergil, *Ciris*, 448–89:

*iam fessae tandem fugiunt de corpore uires / et caput inflexa lentum ceruice recumbit, / (450) marmorea adductis
liuescunt brachia nodis. / aequoreae pristis, immania corpora ponti, / undique conueniunt et glauco in gurgite
circum / uerbere caudarum atque oris minitantur hiatu. / (478) fertur et incertis iactatur ad omnia uentis, / cumba
uelut magnas sequitur cum paruula classis / (480) Afer et hiberno bacchatur in aequore turbo, / donec tale decus
formae uexarier undis / non tulit ac miseros mutauit uirginis artus / caeruleo pollens coniunx Neptunia regno. / sed
tamen †aeternam† squamis uestire puellam / (485) infidosque inter teneram committere pisces / non statuit (nimium
est auidum pecus Amphitrites): / aeriis potius sublimem sustulit alis, / esset ut in terris facti de nomine ciris, / ciris
Amyclaeo formosior ansere Ladae.*

J. 2. Servius, *Ecl.*, 6, 74:

*altera vero Scylla fuit Nisi, Megarensium regis, filia. contra quos dum, devictis iam Atheniensibus, pugnaret Minos
propter filii Androgei interitum, quem Athenienses et Megarenses dolo necaverant, adamatus a Scylla est, Nisi filia,
quae ut hosti posset placere, comam purpuream parenti abscisam ei obtulit, quam Nisus ita habuerat consecratam, ut
tamdiu regno potiretur, quamdiu illam habuisset intactam. postea et Scylla, a Minoe contempta, vel dolore, quod
contempta esset, vel <quod> quasi parricida a Minoe ad puppim religata tracta sit, in avem Cirim conversa est, et
Nisus extinctus deorum miseratione in avis mutatus est formam.*

K. The souls of Diomedes' fellows became birds, according to Ant. Lib., 37, 5 (above, n. 77, b).

L. Reversely, the metamorphose of a bird into a human being was also possible, according to Aelian, III, 23, who quotes Alexander of Myndos: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Μύνδιός φησιν, ὅταν ἐς γῆρας ἀφίκωνται, παρελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ὠκεανίτιδας νήσους ἀμείβειν τὰ εἶδη ἐς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν.

⁸³ a) For instance, certain sources do not specify that it were after her death when Philomela became a bird: Homer, *Od.*, 19, 518-23; Hes., *Op.*, 568; Sappho, fr. 135 Voigt (*ap.* Hephaest., *Enchiridion de metris*, p. 38 Consbruch); A., *Suppl.*, 60-2; A., *Ag.*, 1142-5; S., *El.*, 107 and 148; S., *Fr.* 581 Radt, *ap.* Arist. *HA*, 633 a 18-27; E., *Fr.* 773, vv. 23-6 Kannicht; Ps. E., *Rh.*, 546-50; Agatharchides, *De Mari Erythraeo*, 7, 34; Conon, 26 F 1 (31) Jacoby, *ap.* Photius, *Bibl.*, 186, p. 136 a 18-33 Bekker; Ovid, *Met.*, 6, 667-74; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 45; Achilles Tatius, 5, 5; Paus., 10, 4, 8-9; Ps. Apollodorus, 3, 193-5; Aelianus, *VH*, 12, 20; Serv., *Ecl.*, 6, 78; Libanius, *Progymnasmata*, 2, 18-19; Nonnus, 12, 75-6; Eust., *Ad Od.*, vol. 2, p. 215, l. 21-33; Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 7, 142, vv. 465-8; Tzetzes, *Scholium in Hesiodi Opera et dies*, v. 566; *sch. in Aristophanis Aves*, 212.

b) Other myths in which human beings become birds before death: Acalanthis and her sisters, the Pierides (Ov., *Met.*, 5, 669-78; Ant. Lib., 9); Aesacus (Ov., *Met.*, 11, 762-95, esp. 783-95; Serv., *Aen.*, 4, 254, and 5, 128; *sch. in Lycophronis Alexandram*, 224); Agrios, Oreios, and Polyphonte (Ant. Lib., 21); Agron, Eumelus, Meropis, and Byssa (Ant. Lib., 15); Aigolios, Keleos, Kerberos, and Laios (Ant. Lib., 19); Aigyptius, Boulis, Neophron, and Timandra (Ant. Lib., 5); Alcyone (Ps. Apollodorus, I, 52); Antigone (Ov., *Met.*, 6, 93-7); Artemiche, Harpasos, Harpe, Kleinis, Lykios, and Ortygios (Ant. Lib., 20); Ascalaphus (Ov., *Met.*, 5, 539-50; Ps. *Apd.*, 2, 126); Combe (Ov., *Met.*, 7, 382-3; perhaps *sch. in Il.*, 14, 291); Coronis (Ov., *Met.*, 2, 542-88); Dedalio (Ov., *Met.*, 11, 291-345; Hyg., *Fab.*, 200;); Erinoma (Serv., *Ec.*, 10, 18); Gerana (Ov., *Met.*, 6, 90-2; Ael., *NA*, 15, 29; Ant. Lib., 16, 2; Ath., 9, 49; Eust., *Ad Il.*, vol. 4, p. 809 Van der Valk); Harpalyce (Nonnus, 12, 72-5); Hierax (Ant. Lib., 3); Iynx (*sch. in Theocritum*, 2, 17; *sch. in Pindari Nem.*, 4, 56 a); the Meleagrids (Ov., *Met.*, 8, 515-47; Hyg., *Fab.*, 174; Lactantius Placidus, *In Statii Thebaida*, 4, 103, in Sweeney, 1997, 249; Ant. Lib., 2; Ael., *NH*, 4, 42; *Mythographi Vaticani*, I, 198; Photius, *Lex.*, s. v.; *Suda*, s. v.; Eust., *Ad Il.*, vol. 2, p. 802 Van der Valk); the Memnonidae (cf. note 77 a, above); the Minyadai (Ant. Lib., 10); Nyctimene (Ov., *Met.*, 2, 589-95; Hyg., *Fab.*, 204; Serv., *Georg.*, 1, 403; Westermann, 1843, 348); Oinoe (Ant. Lib., 16); Perdix (Ov., *Met.*, 8, 250-55); Periclymenus (Hesiod, fr. 33 a, vv. 12-15 Merkelbach-West, *ap.*

P. Oxy., 2481, fr. 2; 2485, fr. 1, col. ii, and 2486, in Lobel, 1962, 22-3 and especially, as far as we are concerned here, 28-9; *sch. in A. R.*, I, 156-60, p. 21 Wendel; *Ov., Met.*, 12, 556-61); Periphas (*Ant. Lib.*, 6); Peristera (*Mythographi Vaticani*, I, 175 and II, 33: *Venus et Cupido quum quodam tempore voluptatis gratia in quosdam descendissent campos nitentes, lasciva contentione certare coeperunt, qui sibi plures gemmantes colligeret flores. Quorum Cupido, ajutus mobilitate pennarum, postquam naturam corporis volatu superavit, vicit numero. Peristera vero subito accurit, et adjuvando Venerem superiorem fecit cum poena sua. Cupido siquidem indignatus mutavit puellam in avem columbam, quae a Graecis περιστερὰ vocatur. Sed poenam honor minuit. Venus enim, consolatura innocentis transfigurationem, columbam in tutela sua esse commendavit*); Picus (*Verg., Aen.*, 7, 189-91; *Ov., Met.*, 14, 320-96, esp. 386-92; Plutarchus, *Aetia Romana*, 268 F; *Serv., In Aen.*, 7, 190); Polyphonte (*Ant. Lib.*, 21), and Side's father (Dionysius, *Ixeuticon sive de aucupio (paraphrasis olim sub auctore Eutecnio)*, 1, 7).

⁸⁴ A. Vergil, *Aen.*, 10, 189-93: *luctu Cycnum Phaethontis amati, / populeas inter frondes umbramque sororum / dum canit et maestum Musa solatur amorem, / canentem molli pluma duxisse senectam / linquentem terras et sidera voce sequentem*. Cf. *Servius, Aen.*, X, 193: *sidera voce sequentem: cum cantu caelum petentem: vel quod est re vera relatus in sidera, sicut videmus in sphaera*. On this Cycnus, cf. also *Ov., Met.*, 2, 367-80 (*Adfuit huic monstro proles Stheneleia Cycnus, / qui tibi materno quamvis a sanguine iunctus, / mente tamen, Phaethon, propior fuit. ille relicto / (nam Ligurum populos et magnas rexerat urbes) / imperio ripas virides amnemque querellis / Eridanum inplerat silvamque sororibus auctam, / cum vox est tenuata viro canaeque capillos / dissimulant plumae collumque a pectore longe / porrigitur digitosque ligat iunctura rubentis, / penna latus velat, tenet os sine acumine rostrum. / fit nova Cycnus avis nec se caeloque Iovique / credit, ut iniuste missi memor ignis ab illo; / stagna petit patulosque lacus ignemque perosus / quae colat elegit contraria flumina flammis*), *Hyginus, Fab.*, 154 (*Cygnus autem rex Liguriaie, qui fuit Phaet<h>onti propinquus, dum deflet propinquum in cygnum conuersus est; is quoque moriens flebile canit*), *Pausanias*, I, 30, 3 (Ἀκαδημίας δὲ οὐ πόρρω Πλάτωνος μνήμᾳ ἐστίν, ᾧ προεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς ἄριστον τὰ ἐς φιλοσοφίαν ἔσεσθαι· προεσήμαινε δὲ οὕτω. Σωκράτης τῇ προτέρᾳ νυκτὶ ἢ Πλάτων ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι οἱ μαθητῆς ἐσπτήναι οἱ κύκνον ἐς τὸν κόλπον εἶδεν ὄνειρον· ἔστι δὲ κύκνῳ τῷ ὄρνιθι μουσικῆς δόξα, ὅτι Λιγύων τῶν Ἡριδανοῦ πέραν ὑπὲρ γῆς τῆς Κελτικῆς Κύκνον ἄνδρα μουσικὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα φασί, τελευτήσαντα δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος γνώμῃ μεταβαλεῖν λέγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν ὄρνιθα), and Westermann, 1843, 347-8.

B. There were other heroes named Cycnus, who were told to have been turned into swans:

B. 1. *Ath.*, 9, 49: Βοῖος δ' ἐν Ὀρνιθογονίᾳ ἢ Βοιώ, ὥς φησι Φιλόχορος (FHG I 417 ≈ 328 F 214 Jacoby), ὑπὸ Ἄρεως τὸν Κύκνον ὀρνιθωθῆναι.

B. 2. *Ov., Met.*, 12, 138-45: *quem super impulsus resupino corpore Cycnum / vi multa vertit terraeque adflixit Achilles. / tum clipeo genibusque premens praecordia duris / vincla trahit galeae, quae presso subdita mento / elidunt fauces et respiramen iterque / eripiunt animae. victum spoliare parabat: / arma relicta videt; corpus deus aequoris albam / contulit in volucrem, cuius modo nomen habebat*.

B. 3. *Ant. Lib.*, 12, 8:

τῷ δὲ Κύκνῳ παρέστη δεινὸν ἀτιμωθέντι παρὰ τὴν δόξαν, ἀθυμήσας δὲ κατέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Κωνώπην λεγομένην λίμνην καὶ ἠφανίσθη· πρὸς δὲ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ καὶ Θυρίη ἢ μήτηρ κατέβαλεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ λίμνην καὶ ἐγένοντο βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ὀρνιθες ἀμφότεροι ἐν λίμνῃ.

⁸⁵ *Hyg., Astr.*, 2, 16: *Nonnulli etiam dixerunt Meropem quendam fuisse, qui Coum insulam tenuerit regno, et a filiae nomine Coon et homines ipsos a se Meropas appellaret. Hunc autem habuisse uxorem quandam nomine Ethemeam, genere nymphaeum procreatam. Quae cum desierit colere Dianam, ab ea sagittis figi coepit. Tandem a Proserpina vivam ad inferos abreptam esse. Meropem autem desiderio uxoris permotum, mortem sibi consciscere voluisse;*

Iunonem autem misertam eius in aquilam corpus eius convertisse et inter sidera constituisse, ne, si hominis effigie eum constitueret, hominis memoriam tenens, coniugis desiderio moveretur.

⁸⁶ Cf. our chapter III.1.

⁸⁷ Vid. Cumont, 1917, 42 ff., and 1949, 249. According to Cumont, the eagle (a bird of prey) was chosen as an image of the soul due to the belief that souls must drink blood for surviving, a belief that might have had something to do with the genesis of the Sirens' myth (Cumont, 1949, 293; for other grounds and meanings of the eagle in funerary art of the imperial period, vid. Cumont, 1917.) Anyway, this would lead us too far from our topic.

⁸⁸ Vid. Cumont, 1917, 42-4, fig. 12-14. As for the inscriptions, under the eagle to the right, Cumont read ΒΑΣΣΕ ἄλυσται χερε, and, under the one to the left, Αὐγ[...] ἄλ[υπε χαίρε]. In the same way, on the right wall of the gallery, there are human figures with inscriptions such as ΔΑΜΙ ΧΑΙΠΕ, ΖΗΝΩΝ ΧΑΙΠΕ, etc.

⁸⁹ Vid. Cumont, 1917, 46, fig. 19.

⁹⁰ An examination of the early Christian soul-birds would be needed for a study about the angelic hierarchies as bearers of cosmic music. We plan to undertake such a study in the future.

⁹¹ A. Wingless images of the soul in ancient art:

- A. 1. Bodiless head (Waser, 1902-9, col. 3219, and Weicker, 1902, 30 ff.): cf. *Il.*, 11, 54-5 (οὐνεκ' ἔμελλε / πολλὰς ἰφθίμους κεφαλὰς "Αἶδι προΐάψειν) and *Il.*, 1, 3 (πολλὰς ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς "Αἶδι προΐάψειν), and the black-figure amphora from München (cf. Baumeister, 1889, vol. 3, 1902, fig. 2001, and Reinach, 1899-1900, vol. 2, 113), where a head is soaring on the corpse of Troilus.
- A. 2. Wingless human body (Waser, 1902-9, col. 3222), in full accordance with Homeric conception of ψυχή as a replica; cf. the belief mentioned by Plato, *Phaed.*, 81c-d: περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη, περὶ ἃ δὴ καὶ ὥφθη ἄττα ψυχῶν σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα, οἷα παρέχονται αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εἶδωλα, αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσαι ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ μετέχουσai, διὸ καὶ ὀρῶνται. We can see this kind of images on the so (wrongly) called monument of the Harpyies, from Xanthos (cf. our section II. 1. d.), and on a black-figure amphora of the British Museum (cf. Weizsäcker, 1902-1909, cols. 1711-12, fig. 12, and Reinach, 1899-1900, vol. 2, 100, fig. 1), where we see a tomb and a small wingless figure of a warrior with the inscription ΠΤΡΟΚΛΟΣ.

There is also a very interesting black-figured hydria of Münster (Archäologisches Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Inv. 565) on which another wingless εἶδωλον of a warrior is identified as ΦΣΥΧΗ, that is, ψυχή; cf. Stähler, 1967, pl. 1 and 4, and our plates 24-25 (thanks to Dr. H. Helge Nieswandt, Curator of the Archaeological Museum of Münster University, for sending us those pictures). Other *eidola*, both winged and wingless, can be seen in Stähler, 1967, plates 2, No. 2 (from Berlin, Staatliche Museen, F 1867), 4, No. 4 (from Naples, Museo Nazionale, H 2746; our pl. 22), 5, No. 5 (New York, Metropolitan Museum, 25.70.2), 6, No. 7 (Paris, Louvre, CA 601), 7, No. 3 (Borden Wood, Sammlung W. Lamb), 8, No. 13 (Delos, Museum, 546), 11, No. 6 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n° inv. AA.CA.6), and 12, 15 (hydria from ca. 520-510 B. C. E., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 63.473, our pl. 26). On a Campanian bowl at the Musée du Louvre we see Hermes weighing the souls of Achilles and Memnon, now represented as wingless εἶδωλα (cf. Waser, 1902-9, cols. 3225-6, fig. 14).

A. 3. Snake (Lippert, 1881, 300 f.; Waser, 1902-9, col. 3221; Weicker, 1902, 25, n. 2, and p. 30): it was told that two snakes represented Kadmus and Harmonía on their tombs (Nicander, *Theriaka*, 608-9: Σιδονίου Κάδμοιο θεμελίον Ἀρμονίης τε / ἔνθα δὺν δασπλῆτε νομὸν στείβουσι δράκοντε), and Porphyrius says that, when Plotinus died, a snake appeared under his bed (Porph., *Vita Plotini*, II, 27-30: δράκοντος ὑπὸ τὴν κλίνην διελθόντος ἐν ᾗ κατέκειτο καὶ εἰς ὀπήν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ ὑπάρχουσai ὑποδεδυκότος ἀφῆκε

τὸ πνεῦμα ἔτη γεγονώς, ὡς ὁ Εὐστόχιος ἔλεγεν, ἔξ τε καὶ ἐξήκοντα) Cf. an altar with a snake crawling on it to reach an offering (Waser, 1913, 355, and the image in Wide, 1909, fig. 1).



Pl. 24: Black-figured hydria with a wingless *eidolon* of a warrior, labeled ΦΥΧΗ (ψυχή).



Pl. 25: A detailed view of the Münster hydria (Inv 565), with the wingless *eidolon* labeled ΦΣΥΧΗ (ψυχή).

B. Butterflies as images of the soul (vid. Bettini, 1986, 212, Jahn, 1847, 137 ff., and Waser, 1902-9, cols. 3234-7): Cf. Arist. *HA*, 551a 13-24 (Γίνονται δ' αἱ μὲν καλούμεναι ψυχαὶ ἐκ τῶν καμπῶν, αἱ γίνονται ἐπὶ τῶν φύλλων τῶν χλωρῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς ραφάνου, ἣν καλοῦσιν τινες κράμβην, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλαττον κέγχρου, εἴτα μικροὶ σκώληκες αὐξανόμενοι, ἔπειτα ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις κάμπαι μικραὶ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐξηθεῖσαι ἀκινήτιζουσιν, καὶ μεταβάλλουσι τὴν μορφήν, καὶ καλοῦνται χρυσαλλίδες, καὶ σκληρὸν ἔχουσι τὸ κέλυφος, ἀπτομένου δὲ κινεῦνται. Προσέχονται δὲ πόροις ἀραχνιώδεσιν οὐτε στόμα ἔχουσαι οὐτ' ἄλλο τῶν μορίων διάδηλον οὐδέν. Χρόνου δ' οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος περιρρήγνυται τὸ κέλυφος, καὶ ἐκπέτεται ἐξ αὐτῶν πτερωτὰ ζῶα, ἃς καλοῦμεν ψυχάς); Hsch., s. v. ψυχή (ψ, 293: ψυχή· πνεῦμα. καὶ ζωῦφιον πτηνόν); sch. in Nicandri *Theriaka*, v. 760 (φάλαινα λέγεται ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένη ψυχή). Images: a relief on a sarcophagus from the third century C. E. in the Museo Capitolino, where Prometheus is represented fashioning a human figure on whose head Athena is placing a butterfly (cf. our pl. 27, sent by the “Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini;” thanks to Dott. Claudio Parisi Presicce for authorizing the reproduction of this picture in his letter from September 9th 2013; cf. also Baumeister, 1889, vol. II, 1413, fig. 1568; Waser, 1902-9, fig. 20, and Hyginus, *Fab.*, 142: *Prometheus Iapeti filius primus homines ex luto finxit. postea Vulcanus Iouis iussu ex luto mulieris effigiem fecit, cui Minerva animam dedit*, quoted from the website http://www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost02/Hyginus/hyg_fabu.html#c142, as consulted on October 23rd 2004).



Pl. 26: Hydria with winged *eidolon*
 (Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



Pl. 27: Athena placing a butterfly on the head of the human figure fashioned by Prometheus, as if to endow it with a soul. Sarcophagus of the third century C. E., Roma, Musei Capitolini (inv. MC 329/S).

Negative: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini.

⁹² Cf. Breglia Pulci Doria, 1990, 63.

c. 4. Some Later Sirens-Souls

The notion of the Sirens as souls survives in later writings. It is continued in a surprising way by Leontius, a Greek Church Father of the fourth century C. E., who in commenting on a passage of Hiob (30, 29), affirms that the Sirens are the souls of the saints, proclaiming the song of thanksgiving after going through the sea of life.⁹³ This seems very far from the conventional Patristic interpretations of the myth of the Sirens; it is even quite distinct from the Patristic commentary on references to the Sirens in the *Septuagint*.⁹⁴ But it is especially puzzling that a Christian writer of the early Church admitted that the souls (and especially those of the saints) became Sirens in the Other World. Leontius might have proposed such a thing because the task of the blessed ones, in Christian eschatology, is thought to be singing, still more consistently than in pagan Greek beliefs.⁹⁵ In this context, we should recall that, for Weicker and Wedner, the conception of the soul's song may be linked with that of the soul birds.⁹⁶ According to Weicker, since the idea of singing refers immediately to the birds, and souls are represented by birds, it was logical to imagine that the souls sing. We must note, however, that, among the few birds that can represent souls in ancient art and literature, it is doubtful whether anyone is specifically a singing bird.

More closely in line with Plato, Proclus interpreted the Sirens as souls, not of the deceased but of the cosmic spheres. We shall come back to these concept in the next section. Now we must say that Proclus maintains a distinction between the Sirens and the souls of the dead in his commentaries on Plato's *Cratylus*, where the Sirens of Hades entice the souls to dance around the god of the Underworld. And in his commentaries on the *Timaeus*, Proclus states that Plato gave the name "Sirens" to the divine souls.⁹⁷

Our last source linking the Sirens with the soul is to be found in the *Lexicon* of Photius (ninth century C. E.), where we read:

Σειρῆνες: αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἑναρμόνιοι καὶ μουσικαὶ δυνάμεις.⁹⁸

Short as this citation is, it offers some difficulties of interpretation, depending on our reading of the words ἑναρμόνιοι καὶ μουσικαὶ δυνάμεις and, consequently, on whether we understand ψυχή as an individual soul or as the world soul. All these possibilities are intertwined and deserve a brief discussion. The most immediate option is to understand δυνάμεις as “faculties,” which makes good sense with the soul.⁹⁹ But we still need to explain the adjectives ἑναρμόνιοι καὶ μουσικαί, applied to those faculties of the soul. The last one does not offer special problems, since it may be taken in the most general sense of “proper of a votary of the Muses,” i. e., an educated person.¹⁰⁰ But ἑναρμόνιοι involves a more precise reference to musical sound, and it is nearer than μουσικαί to what we may understand as “musical” in modern sense, “belonging to music or sound.”¹⁰¹ It could also be a musical term (the designation of a *genus* of scale), but at first sight, this seems to make little sense as a faculty of the soul. This might lead to an interpretation of our passage as follows:

“Sirens: the musical and harmonic faculties of the soul,”

i. e., the capacities of the soul for the exercise of music, an exercise we should understand as mostly theoretical, given the rationalistic trend of Platonism and Neoplatonism in which this text may belong. Consequently, the soul alluded to is an individual soul.

The word δύναμις may, however, be a technical musical term meaning “function of a note in the scale.” In terms of Western classical harmony, we should recall that the same note may have different tonal functions (E may be the dominant of A, the subdominant of B, etc.) Likewise, ἑναρμόνιος could belong to this technical

semantic field as well. The ancient music theorists were aware of the phenomenon that the same note could have different values depending of the scale considered,¹⁰² but in this case it is difficult to see what the meaning of ἐναρμόνιος might be. In the textual corpus of the TLG-E, the adjective ἐναρμόνιος qualifying the noun δύναμις is not found anywhere other than in the present passage of Photius's *Lexicon*, as well as in the corresponding *lemma* of the *Suda*, literally coincident with Photius. We could hypothesize that this refers to the functions of the soul when compared with those of the *nete*, *mese*, and *hypate*, a comparison that goes back to Plato and was developed by Plutarch and Proclus.¹⁰³ But the *nete*, *mese*, and *hypate* were the fixed sounds of every Greek scale: they did not vary according to the *genus* (enharmonic, diatonic, or chromatic).¹⁰⁴ Consequently, we should interpret ἐναρμόνιος, in Photius's citation, as “harmonic” or perhaps better “harmonized”: the Sirens are the faculties of the soul when they keep the proper harmony between them, a harmony like that of *nete*, *mese*, and *hypate*. The adjective μουσικός in the most general sense we have mentioned above (“votary of the Muses,” “educated”), makes sense here too: the soul of educated people is that in which the faculties are harmonically balanced.

Another possibility is that Photius (or his source) could have in mind the world soul, with the proportions of which Plutarch had also related the Sirens. The structure of the world soul, however, does not contain the proportions of the enharmonic *genus*, but those of the diatonic, according to Plato's *Timaeus*.¹⁰⁵ We should accordingly interpret ἐναρμόνιος as we did with respect to the human soul (“keeping the due harmony”), but the problem would then be the meaning of δύναμις, as referred to the world soul. The musical sense of δύναμις as “function” does not seem to make sense here, because the world-soul's scale does not vary, or at least our sources do not specify different modes or tones of that scale: consequently, it is difficult to see how its hypothetical sounds

could have different functions. It seems most convenient to understand δυνάμεις as “powers” with which the world soul keeps the musical harmony of the world. Thus, we should interpret τῆς ψυχῆς as a *genitivus subiecti* depending on δυνάμεις, and translate:

“Sirens: the musical and harmonic powers of the world soul.”

It seems, however, strange to allude to the world soul with only the term ψυχῆ without any complement like τοῦ παντός. The first interpretation of ψυχῆ as “soul of the individual” makes better sense, and the same can be said of its δυνάμεις as “faculties.” Thus, we prefer to interpret the Sirens in Photius’s quotation as the “musical and harmonic faculties of the soul,” as we suggested above.

⁹³ Leontius, *Homilia II in ramos palmarum*, l. 112-3 Datema-Allen: Σειρήνες δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀγίων ψυχαί, αἵτινες τὸν κλύδωνα τοῦ βίου διαπεράσασαι τὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μέλος καθ’ ἐκάστην βοῶσι. This refers to *Hiob*, 30, 29: ἀδελφὸς γέγονα σειρήνων, ἑταῖρος δὲ στρουθῶν.

⁹⁴ We shall deal with these “Biblical Sirens” in III.3.c.1.

⁹⁵ Cf., for instance, *Carmina epigraphica latina*, II, 3, 2.018 Buecheler (*Ne tristes lacrimas, ne p[er]pectora tundite v[est]ra, / o pater et mater, n[on] reg[na] caelestia tango. / non tristis Erebus n[on] p[er]allida mortis imag[o], / sed requies secura te[n]et ludoque choreas / inter felices animas et [a]moena piorum / p[er]ata...*), and *Apocalypsis Ioannis*, 15, 2-3 (Καὶ εἶδον ὡς θάλασσαν ὑαλίνην μεμιγμένην πυρί, καὶ τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς εἰκόνης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ ἐστῶτας ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ὑαλίνην, ἔχοντας κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ᾄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως τοῦ δούλου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν τοῦ ἀρνίου). For the music of the blessed ones, according to Greek pagan beliefs, cf. our section II. 1. c. 2, n. 44, B.

⁹⁶ Weicker, 1902, 17-20, and Wedner, 1994, 67. According to Weicker, the musical activity of the souls is consistent also with their aerial nature, but the sources he quotes (Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 419f, and Lucianus, *Veræ Historiae*, II, 5 and 15) are not a proof for that suggestive hypothesis.

⁹⁷ A. Sirens = souls of the cosmic spheres, according to Proclus, *In R.*, vol. II, p. 237 Kroll: τίνας εἶναι ῥητέον τὰς Σειρήνας ταύτας; (...) τίνα οὖν οὐσίαν καὶ τάξιν ἐχούσας; ὅτι μὲν δὴ πρὸ σωματῶν οὐσας ἀναγκαῖον καὶ προσεχῶς ἐφειστώσας τοῖς κύκλοις εἶναι ψυχὰς αὐτάς, δῆλον. Cf. also Proclus, *In Tim.*, vol. II, p. 234 Diehl: λοιπῆς δὲ οὐσης τῆς εἰς ὀκτῶ μὲν σφαίρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τομῆς, εἰς ἑννέα δὲ τοῦ κόσμου παντός, καὶ τῆς μὲν ταῖς ἐν <Πολιτείᾳ> [X 617 B] Σειρήσι, τῆς δὲ ταῖς ὅλαις Μούσαις ἀνεμμένης, ὅφ’ ἂς καὶ αἱ Σειρήνες, πάλιν εἰκότως ὁ τόνος συνέκλεισε τὸ διάγραμμα πᾶν.

B. Sirens of Hades, different from the souls of the dead: Proclus, *In Crat.*, section 158, ll. 11-13 (ὥστε οἶδεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ “Αἰδου βασιλείᾳ γένη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ψυχῶν, αἱ περιχορεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Σειρήνων θελογόμεναι);

C. Sirens = divine souls, according to Proclus, *In Tim.*, vol. I, p. 41, ll. 14-15 Diehl (Σειρήνας ἀλλὰ χόρ’ οὐ προσείπε τὰς θείας ψυχὰς).

⁹⁸ Photius, *Lexicon*, σ, p. 504, ll. 9-10: Σειρήνες· αἱ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐναρμόνιοι καὶ μουσικαὶ δυνάμεις; cf. *Suda*, σ, 281.

⁹⁹ Cf. Plato, *Philebus*, 58 d (εἴ τις πέφυκε τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν δύναμις ἐρᾶν τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ πάντα ἔνεκα τούτου πράττειν); *Hippias Minor*, 375e (εἰ μὲν δυνάμις ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ δικαιοσύνη); Aristotle, *De anima*, 411b 14-15 (ἀπορήσειε δ' ἂν τις καὶ περὶ τῶν μορίων αὐτῆς, τίν' ἔχει δυνάμιν ἑκαστον ἐν τῷ σώματι); Galenus, *Quod optimus medicus sit quoque philosophus*, vol. I, p. 57 Kuhn (δύναμις ψυχικὴ): *eiusd.*, In *Platonis Timaeum commentarii*, fr. 2, ll. 55-56 Schröder (τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν δυνάμεις τρεῖς, λογιστικὴν τε καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπιθυμητικὴν), etc.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Aristophanes, *Equites*, 191-3 (Ἡ δημαγωγία γὰρ οὐ πρὸς μουσικοῦ / ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ χρηστοῦ τοὺς τρόπους / ἀλλ' εἰς ἀμαθίαν καὶ βδελυρόν); Pl. *Phaedr.*, 248d (τὴν μὲν πλείστα ἰδοῦσαν εἰς γονὴν ἀνδρὸς γεννησομένου φιλοσόφου ἢ φιλοκάλου ἢ μουσικοῦ τινος...).

¹⁰¹ Cf. Pl. *R.*, 530d 6-9 (Κινδυνεύει, ἔφην, ὡς πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν ὄμματα πέπηγεν, ὡς πρὸς ἐναρμόνιον φορὰν ὦτα παγῆναι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἀλλήλων ἀδελφαὶ τινες αἱ ἐπιστῆμαι εἶναι, ὡς οἱ τε Πυθαγόρειοί φασι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὦ Γλαῦκων, συγχωροῦμεν); *eiusd. Leg.*, 654a 2 (τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἰσθησιν); Arist. *De caelo*, 290b 22-23 (ἐναρμόνιον γίγνεσθαι φασὶ τὴν φωνὴν φερομένων κύκλῳ τῶν ἀστρῶν).

¹⁰² Cf. Ptolemaeus, *Harmonica*, II, 5 (Πῶς αἱ τῶν φθόγγων ὀνομασίαι πρὸς τὴν θέσιν ἐκλαμβάνονται καὶ τὴν δυνάμιν); Cleonides, *Harm.*, 14, l. 11 (δύναμις δὲ ἐστὶ τάξις φθόγγου ἐν συστήματι); cf. Mathiesen, 1999, 459-65.

¹⁰³ For the harmonic proportions of the human soul, cf.:

- a) Plato, *R.* 443 c-d: τὸ δὲ γε ἀληθές, τοιοῦτόν μὲν τι ἦν ... ἡ δικαιοσύνη ..., μὴ ἐάσαντα τὰλότριά πράττειν ἑκαστον ἐν αὐτῷ μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖν πρὸς ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γένη, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι τὰ οἰκεία εἶ θέμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ κοσμήσαντα καὶ φίλον γενόμενον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ξυναρμόσαντα τρία ὄντα, ὥσπερ ὄρους τρεῖς ἀρμονίας ἀτεχνῶς, νεάτης τε καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ μέσης.
- b) Plutarch, *Quaestiones platonicae*, 1007e: Περὶ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων ἐν Πολιτείαι (443d) Πλάτωνος τὴν τοῦ λογιστικοῦ καὶ θυμοειδοῦς καὶ ἐπιθυμητικοῦ συμφωνίαν ἀρμονίαι μέσης καὶ ὑπάτης καὶ νήτης εἰκάσαντος ἄριστα, διαπορήσειεν ἂν τι 'πότερον κατὰ τῆς μέσης τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἢ τὸ λογιστικὸν ἔταξεν αὐτὸ γὰρ ἔν γε τούτοις οὐ δεδήλωκεν.
- c) Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Harmonica*, III, 5: Πῶς ἐφαρμόζει τὰ σύμφωνα ταῖς πρώταις διαφοραῖς τῆς ψυχῆς μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων εἰδῶν.

Ἔστι τοίνυν τὰ μὲν πρώτα τῆς ψυχῆς μέρη τρία, νοερόν, αἰσθητικόν, ἐκτικόν, τὰ δὲ πρώτα τῶν ὁμοφώνων καὶ συμφώνων εἶδη τρία, τό τε διὰ πασῶν ὁμόφωνον καὶ σύμφωνα τό τε διὰ πέντε καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων, ὥστε ἐφαρμόζεσθαι τὸ μὲν διὰ πασῶν τῷ νοερῷ—πλείστον γὰρ ἐν ἐκατέρῳ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἴσον καὶ ἀδιάφορον—τὸ δὲ διὰ πέντε τῷ αἰσθητικῷ, τὸ δὲ διὰ τεσσάρων τῷ ἐκτικῷ. τοῦ τε γὰρ διὰ πασῶν ἐγγυτέρω τὸ διὰ πέντε παρὰ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, ὡς συμφωνότερον διὰ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν πλησιαιτέραν ἔχειν τοῦ ἴσου, καὶ τοῦ νοεροῦ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν ἐγγύτερον παρὰ τὸ ἐκτικὸν διὰ τὸ μετέχειν τινὸς καὶ αὐτὸ καταλήψεως. ἐπειδὴ ὥσπερ ἐν οἷς μὲν ἔξις, οὐ πάντως αἰσθησις, οὐδὲ ἐν οἷς αἰσθησις, καὶ νοὺς πάντως· ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἐν οἷς αἰσθησις, καὶ ἔξις πάντως, καὶ ἐν οἷς νοὺς, καὶ ἔξις καὶ αἰσθησις πάντως, οὕτως ὅπου μὲν τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων, οὐ πάντως καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε, οὐδ' ὅπου τὸ διὰ πέντε, καὶ τὸ διὰ πασῶν πάντως· ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ὅπου τὸ διὰ πέντε,

καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων πάντως, καὶ ὅπου τὸ διὰ πασών, καὶ τὸ διὰ πέντε καὶ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων πάντως, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀτελεστερῶν ἐστὶν ἐμμελειῶν τε καὶ συγκρίσεων ἴδια, τὰ δὲ τῶν τελειοτέρων.

Καὶ μὴν τοῦ μὲν ἐκτικοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς τρία τις ἂν εἴποι τὰ εἶδη τοῖς τοῦ διὰ τεσσάρων ἰσάριθμα, τό τε κατὰ τὴν αὔξησιν καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν καὶ τὴν φθίσιν—αὐταὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρῶται δυνάμεις—τοῦ δὲ αἰσθητικοῦ τέσσαρα τοῖς τῆς διὰ πέντε συμφωνίας ἰσάριθμα, τό τε κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀκοήν καὶ τὴν ὄσφρησιν καὶ τὴν γεύσιν, εἰ τὸ τῆς ἀφῆς ὥσπερ ἐπικοινωνοῦν θεΐμεν ἀπασών, ἐπεὶ τῷ ἄπτεσθαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν ὁπωσοῦν ποιοῦνται τὰς ἀντιλήψεις αὐτῶν, τοῦ δὲ νοεροῦ πάλιν ἐπτὰ τὰ μάλιστα διαφέροντα τοῖς τοῦ διὰ πασών εἴδεσιν ἰσάριθμα, φαντασίαν μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθητῶν διάδοσιν, νοῦν δὲ παρὰ τὴν πρῶτην τύπωσιν, ἔννοιαν δὲ παρὰ τῶν τυπωθέντων κατοχὴν καὶ μνήμην, διάνοιαν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀναπόλησιν καὶ ζήτησιν, δόξαν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἐξεπιπολήσας εἰκασίαν, λόγον δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὀρθὴν κρίσιν, ἐπιστήμην δὲ παρὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν κατάληψιν. εἴτα κατ’ ἄλλον τρόπον διαιρουμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν εἰς τε τὸ λογιστικὸν καὶ θυμικὸν καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, τὸ μὲν λογιστικὸν διὰ τὰς ὁμοίας ταῖς εἰρημέναις τῆς ἰσότητος αἰτίας ἐφαρμόζοιμεν ἂν εἰκότως τῷ διὰ πασών, τὸ δὲ θυμικόν, συνεγγίζον πως αὐτῷ, τῷ διὰ πέντε, τὸ δὲ ἐπιθυμητικόν, ὑποκάτω τεταγμένον, τῷ διὰ τεσσάρων. τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀξίας καὶ τὰς ἐμπεριοχὰς ἀλλήλων συμβεβηκότα παραπλησίως ἂν καὶ τούτων ληφθεῖη, καὶ τὰς καθ’ ἕκαστον τῶν οἰκείων ἀρετῶν ἐπιφανεστέρας διαφορὰς ἰσαριθμούς ἂν εὑροίμεν πάλιν ταῖς καθ’ ἕκαστον εἶδος τῶν πρῶτων συμφωνιών, ὅτι καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὸ μὲν ἐμμελὲς ἀρετὴ τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐκμελὲς κακία, καὶ ἀναστρέψαντι τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ μὲν ἀρετὴ ἐμμέλειά τίς ἐστὶν αὐτῶν, ἐκμέλεια δὲ ἡ κακία, καὶ κοινὸν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς γένεσι τό τε ἡρμοσμένον τῶν μερῶν ἐν τῷ κατὰ φύσιν ἑκατέρου καὶ τὸ ἀνάρμοστον ἐν τῷ παρὰ φύσιν.

Εἶεν δ’ ἂν τοῦ μὲν ἐπιθυμητικοῦ τὰ τρία τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶδη παρὰ τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων συμφωνίαν, σωφροσύνη μὲν ἐν τῇ καταφρονήσει τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἐγκράτεια δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑπομοναῖς τῶν ἐνδεών, αἰδώς δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐλαβείαις τῶν αἰσχυρῶν, τοῦ δὲ θυμικοῦ τὰ τέσσαρα τῆς ἀρετῆς εἶδη παρὰ τὴν διὰ πέντε συμφωνίαν, πρᾶότης μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀνεκστασίαις ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, ἀφοβία δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀνεκκληξίαις ὑπὸ τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν, ἀνδρεία δὲ ἐν ταῖς καταφρονήσεσι τῶν κινδύνων, καρτερία δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑπομοναῖς τῶν πόνων. τὰ δὲ ἐπτὰ τῆς κατὰ τὸ λογιστικὸν ἀρετῆς εἶδη γένοιντ’ ἂν ὁξύτης μὲν ἢ περὶ τὸ εὐκίνητον, εὐφυΐα δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ εὐθικτον, ἀγχίνουα δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ διορατικόν, εὐβουλία δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ κριτικόν, σοφία δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ θεωρητικόν, φρόνησις δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ πρακτικόν, ἐμπειρία δὲ ἢ περὶ τὸ ἀσκητικόν. πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡρμοσμένου προηγεῖσθαι δεῖ τὰς τῶν ὁμοφώνων ἀκριβώσεις, εἴθ’ ἔπρεσθαι ταύταις τὰς τῶν συμφώνων καὶ τῶν ἐμμελῶν—ὥς τοῦ παραβραχὺ μὴ τοσοῦτον ἐν τοῖς ἐλάττοσι λόγοις παραποδίζοντος τὸ μέλος, ὅσον ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι καὶ κυριωτέροις—οὕτω κὰν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἄρχειν μὲν πέφυκε τὰ νοητικὰ καὶ λογιστικὰ μέρη τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ ὑποτεταγμένων, ἀκριβείας δὲ πλείονος δεῖται πρὸς τὸ κατὰ λόγον, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀμαρτίας τὸ πᾶν ἢ τὸ πλείστον ἔχοντα παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς. καὶ ὅλως ἡ κρατίστη τῆς ψυχῆς διάθεσις, οὐσα δὲ δικαιοσύνη, συμφωνία τίς ἐστὶν ὥσπερ τῶν μερῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν κυριωτέρων προηγούμενον λόγον, τῶν μὲν παρὰ τὴν εὐνοιαν καὶ τὴν εὐλογιστίαν ἐοικότων τοῖς ὁμοφώνοις, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὴν εὐαισθησίαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν ἢ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην τοῖς συμφώνοις, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὰ ποιητικὰ καὶ τὰ μετέχοντα τῶν ἀρμονιῶν τοῖς εἴδεσι τῶν ἐμμελῶν, ὅλης δὲ τῆς

φιλοσόφου διαθέσεως ὅλη τῇ τοῦ τελείου συστήματος ἀρμονία, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ μέρους παραβολῶν τασσομένων κατὰ τε τὰς συμφωνίας αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρετάς, τῆς δὲ τελειοτάτης κατὰ τὴν συνισταμένην ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμφωνιῶν καὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν, συμφωνίαν τινὰ καὶ ἀρετὴν ὥσπερ ἀρετῶν καὶ συμφωνιῶν, μελωδικῶν τε καὶ ψυχικῶν.

- d) Proclus, *In R.*, I, 212-3 Kroll: εἴη ἂν ἡ σωφροσύνη, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, τελευτῶσα δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν διὰ μέσου τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ οὕτως ἀρμονία διὰ πασῶν ἐκ τριῶν ὄρων οὖσα, λόγου θυμοῦ ἐπιθυμίας. ὣν ὁ θυμὸς μέσος ὦν ὡδὶ μὲν ποιεῖ τὴν διὰ τεσσάρων, ὡδὶ δὲ τὴν διὰ πέντε συμφωνίαν, τὴν μὲν τοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὸν θυμὸν διὰ πέντε, τὴν δὲ τοῦ 1.213.1 θυμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν διὰ τεσσάρων. ταύτην γοῦν ἐκάλουν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι συλλαβὴν ὡς οὐ τελέαν οὖσαν συμφωνίαν, τὴν δὲ διὰ πέντε μᾶλλον ἢ ταύτην εἶναι συμφωνίαν· ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ τὸν θυμὸν μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἔχειν δοτέον συμφωνίαν ἢ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν πρὸς τὸν θυμόν, εἰ καὶ ἐλάσσων ἢ τούτων διάστασις, πλείων δὲ ἢ ἐκείνων· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ὀρέξεις μόνον ἄμφω, τὰς δὲ λόγος καὶ ὄρεξις, ἀλλ' οὖν πλείων ἢ συμφωνία θυμοῦ πρὸς λόγον, εἰ καὶ πλείων ἢ διάστασις, ἢ ἐπιθυμίας πρὸς θυμόν, εἰ καὶ ἐλάσσων.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. West, 1992, 161-2; Aristoxenus, *El. Harm.*, p. 28, ll. 10-13 (οἷον τὸ ἀπὸ μέσης ἐφ' ὑπάτην· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ δύο μὲν οἱ περιέχοντες φθόγγοι ἀκίνητοί εἰσιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν γενῶν διαφοραῖς, δύο δ' οἱ περιεχόμενοι κινεῖνται), and Cleonides, *Harm.*, 4, ll. 87-96 (τῶν δὲ ἐξηριθμημένων φθόγγων οἱ μὲν εἰσιν ἐστῶτες, οἱ δὲ κινούμενοι. ἐστῶτες μὲν οὖν εἰσιν, ὅσοι ἐν ταῖς τῶν γενῶν διαφοραῖς οὐ μεταπίπτουσιν, ἀλλὰ μένουσιν ἐπὶ μιᾷ τάσεως. κινούμενοι δέ, ὅσοι τοῦναντίον πεπόνθασιν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς τῶν γενῶν διαφοραῖς μεταβάλλουσι καὶ οὐ μένουσιν ἐπὶ μιᾷ τάσεως. εἰσὶν οὖν οἱ μὲν ἐστῶτες ὁκτὼ οἷδε· προσλαμβανόμενος, ὑπάτη ὑπάτων, ὑπάτη μέσων, μέση, νήτη συνημμένων, παραμέση, νήτη διεζευγμένων, νήτη ὑπερβολαίων· κινούμενοι δὲ οἱ ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων πάντες).

¹⁰⁵ The Sirens were linked with the proportions of the world-soul by Plutarch, *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 1029c 3 –d 1 (quoted in n. 28, B.).

c.4.1. *Excursus*: On the Souls of Stars and Spheres

In the preceding section we have mentioned Proclus's interpretation of Plato's Sirens as the souls of the celestial spheres. This is an amazing concept which deserves further examination, for the question we have dealt with so far was to which extent the Sirens of Plato could represent human souls, but what can we say about Sirens as souls of the celestial spheres? In our opinion, this idea is closely related to (perhaps derived from) the belief in the soul of the heavenly bodies and in their divine status. All this could enhance the association of Sirens and heavenly bodies, in the realm of myth. Therefore we are going to expose the development of the ideas about the soul of heavenly bodies or spheres, and about the divinity of the heavenly bodies. Just like it was the case concerning other interpretations of the Platonic Sirens, we are going to see that attributing a soul to the heavenly bodies was a current idea in the age of Plato and later. Moreover, Plato himself was among the main supporters of that doctrine, which continued to be accepted along the whole history of Antiquity, although on the other hand there were authors who denied that the heavenly bodies could have a soul.¹⁰⁶

Before Plato, Alcmaeon of Crotona had already classed the heavenly bodies and the heaven as a whole among divine beings, because they are endowed with continuous movement. The first piece of evidence about that view of Alcmaeon can be found in Aristotle; Clement of Alexandria wrote that Alcmaeon held the heavenly bodies to be gods and to have a soul.¹⁰⁷ There is also a late piece of evidence about Anaximander stating the divinity of the celestial bodies. The same belief is found in a fragment ascribed to Epicharmus, and in a line at the beginning of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*.¹⁰⁸ We may add that, in the second writing attributed to Plutarch under the title *De Homero*, Homer is credited with knowing that the Sun is an animated being, able to make

decisions about its own movements. This piece of evidence may seem a late forgery endowing Homer with knowledge about doctrines which were developed around three centuries later than the time when the Homeric poems were written down; but it is true that Helios appears personified in the Homeric poems, and this makes us think that the philosophical developments about the divinity of the celestial bodies and whether they have a soul, were continuations of what appeared to be myths in earlier times.¹⁰⁹

In the evidence concerning Alcmaeon, as we have presented it above, we can see that the divinity of the heavenly bodies, and their having a soul constituted two closely intertwined concepts. Both may have become a part of the set of imaginary creations on the ground of which Plato's Sirens and their interpretations develop, and both appear in Plato's works.¹¹⁰ Plato grounded his statement that the stars were gods on the basis of their continuous and regular movements; he also acknowledged the foreign origin of that doctrine.¹¹¹ Plato's doctrine of the divinity of the stars might have led him to admit the celestial Sirens (or to invent them, if they were not a previous fruit of the Pythagorean myth-making). According to Nilsson, the ancient Greek conception of the divinity of the heavenly bodies was a consequence of philosophical criticism against the arbitrariness and immorality of the Homeric gods: the heavenly bodies, who were also satisfactory from the point of view of the older religion based upon divinization of nature's elements, made excellent candidates to be revered as gods because their movements were regular and constant, as it had been discovered by Greek astronomers of Plato's time, like Eudoxus of Cnidus, himself a friend of Plato.¹¹²

We must bear in mind that the Pythagoreans had a certain share in discovering the continuity and regularity of the movement of the heavenly bodies, and that, according Alexander Polyhistor (second-first centuries B. C. E.), Pythagoras also held the Sun, the Moon, and the other heavenly bodies to be gods. According to Aetius, Philolaus also would have considered the heavenly bodies to be divine, and for Joannes Lydus Laurentius (sixth century C. E.) Pythagoras would have told that souls had been sown in the ten spheres of his cosmology.¹¹³ On the other hand, Porphyry, who mentions Aristotle as his source, transmitted that Pythagoras gave special names to some

heavenly bodies: the Great and Little Bear would have been the hands of Rhea; the planets, Persephone's dogs; the Pleiads, the lyre of the Muses.¹¹⁴ All this may be interpreted as relating those heavenly bodies in particular to the gods. On the other hand, Aristotle employed the expression "the star of Hermes" in his discussion of the doctrine of the Pythagoreans from Italy about the comets: this can be interpreted as a hint at the Pythagorean origin of the association of the planets with (and their being named after) the Olympian gods.¹¹⁵ The planets being associated with and named after Olympian deities is a consequence of the heavenly bodies being held to be divine (a phenomenon which began in the classical period, as we have seen). Another manifestation of the same phenomenon is the association of the heavenly bodies with Sirens and Muses: this association was the proper one when it came to cosmic harmony, and moreover those deities were especially adequate to play the role of psychopomps (whereas among the Olympian deities the only one who could make an accomplished psychopomp was Hermes, but on the other hand it is not sure that he played that role by means of music).

The idea of the heavenly bodies being divine and endowed with souls was not limited to Plato. Among his disciples, Xenocrates stated the divinity of heavenly bodies, although it is not so clear (and this is rather surprising) whether he endowed them with a soul.¹¹⁶

Aristotle hinted at an ancient tradition, according to which the heavenly bodies were gods; mentioning Aristotle's name, Cicero paraphrased in Latin a discussion of the problem, which has been thought to belong to the lost Aristotelic dialogue *Περὶ φιλοσοφίας*. Quite near to the question of the souls of the heavenly bodies we find the problem of the souls of the spheres, on which Aristotle's words seem somewhat contradictory.¹¹⁷

Theophrastus, in his lost treatise on heaven, stated that heaven is an animated being, and consequently divine; at least this is how Proclus transmitted Theophrastus' view.¹¹⁸ Another disciple of Aristotle, Straton of Lampsakos, seems to have written that the comets are the light of a heavenly body, encompassed by a kind of soul.¹¹⁹

Among the philosophers of the Stoa, Cleanthes and Chrysippus accepted that heavenly

bodies were both animated and divine as well, if we judge from the evidence provided by Cicero, Arius Didymus, Philo of Alexandria, Aetius, and Plutarch.¹²⁰ A fragment of Chrysippus, where the heavenly bodies are held to be animated and divine, provides also a piece of evidence for a phenomenon derived of the belief in the divinity of heavenly bodies: the association of planets with (and their being named after) Olympian deities.¹²¹ Zenon of Citium, to judge from Arius Didymus, stated that the Sun, the Moon and the remaining heavenly bodies are intellectual beings that possess discernment, and that they are made of fire of the same kind of that which constitutes the soul of other living beings.¹²² The third century C. E. astronomer Achilles Tatius summarized the Stoic view on this question in his *Isagoga excerpta*: according to Achilles Tatius, the Stoics demonstrated that the heavenly bodies are living beings on the ground that they have judgment and are able to choose, since their movements are cyclic and long-protracted.¹²³ We may add the evidence provided by the Christian authors who discussed and criticized the Stoic view on this topic: for example, Lactantius and St. Augustine, according to whom the Stoics said that all heavenly bodies are living beings, have rational souls, and therefore they are undoubtedly gods.¹²⁴

Among the Latin intellectuals, Varro seems to have held the views of Alcmeon, the Pythagoreans, and Plato, if we judge from a passage by Tertullian, who criticized Varro for having said that the heaven and the heavenly bodies were animated beings; according to Tertullian, Varro would have also held that the elements of nature are divine because they move.¹²⁵ It is also interesting to remember that, in his *Somnium Scipionis*, Cicero considered the heavenly bodies animated by divine minds:¹²⁶ from which we have seen so far, it seems to make perfect sense to mention the divine minds of the celestial bodies within a mystical evocation of the harmony of the spheres. The *Somnium Scipionis* being a replica to Plato's myth of Er, echoes of other Platonic conceptions, like the one about the souls of the heavenly bodies and their divinity, could also be expected in it; to the Platonic influence on Cicero we can add the Stoic one, since we have seen how Cicero was well acquainted with the Stoic doctrines on the topic we are discussing (he is, in fact, one of our main sources for them). As for Cicero's knowledge of Plato, it will suffice to remember his translation of the

Timaeus.¹²⁷

As we can see, the belief that the heavenly bodies had a soul and were divine was rather widespread among the ancients from the time of Plato onward.¹²⁸ It had literary reflexes even in the work of authors like Vergil, whose intellectual profile did not belong to Platonism or Stoicism.¹²⁹ During the Imperial period, these ideas could be strengthened by the influence of Oriental religions (and we can remember that Plato and Aristophanes already hinted at the foreign origin of such beliefs). In his treatise *On Isis and Osiris*, Plutarch wrote that, according to the Egyptian priests, the heavenly bodies were the souls of some gods.¹³⁰ Eusebius of Caesarea also mentioned an Egyptian astral theology; he also wrote that the Phoenicians only acknowledged as gods the Sun, the Moon, the other planets, the elements, and what is made of them.¹³¹

We could say that the Neoplatonists were especially fond of these doctrines. Plotinus admitted that the heavenly bodies have a soul and that consequently they are divine as well.¹³² Ammonius of Alexandria, the son of Hermias, alluded to the possibility of the heavenly bodies being animated beings endowed with reason.¹³³ And Proclus, who interpreted Plato's Sirens as if they were the souls of the heavenly spheres, states the existence of astral souls or of psychic movements of the heavenly bodies in many passages, independently of his exegesis of the myth of Er.¹³⁴ In his commentaries on Plato's *Phaedrus*, Hermias also mentioned astral souls, assuming that they belong to a higher rank than human souls.¹³⁵ Among Aristotle's commentators, Syrianus also alluded to the souls of the heavenly bodies.¹³⁶

In the Middle Ages, the question whether the heavenly spheres or bodies had a soul was a controversial one. The views of Plato and Aristotle in this respect were known and discussed, but not shared by Byzantine scholars and theologians.¹³⁷ For example, Simplicius pointed out that the belief in the heavenly bodies being animated and divine was very ancient, that it had traditional roots. He agreed himself that the heavenly bodies are animated beings, have intelligence and are able to act. In his commentaries on Aristotle's *De caelo* and *Physica*, he tried to state that Aristotle agreed that the heavenly bodies are moved by souls as well.¹³⁸ Joannes Philoponus remembered how Plato held the whole universe and the heavenly bodies to be gods, and we owe to

Philoponus detailed presentations of Plato's views; but he also discussed and criticized (on the ground of the Sacred Scripture) the Platonic doctrine of the heavens and heavenly spheres or bodies being animated.¹³⁹ In the same sixth century C. E. in which Joannes Philoponus worked, another commentator of Plato, Olympiodorus also alluded to Plato's views.¹⁴⁰ But St. Joannes Damascenus (eighth century) argued against those who held such views, and Michael Psellos (eleventh century) also mentioned the opinion of those who "gave souls to the stars," while considering elsewhere that it was not worthwhile to get into trouble to demonstrate whether the heaven has a soul; as for himself, Michael Psellos declared that the heavenly bodies have no soul.¹⁴¹ Simeon Seth (an eleventh century writer on natural sciences) remembered how the Greeks thought that the cosmic spheres and the heavenly bodies were animated beings, but argued that the movements of heavenly bodies were due to their nature, not to any soul; Nicolaus Methonaeus, in the twelfth century, refuted that the heaven or its parts could have a soul on the ground that everything that has a soul can nourish itself and grow, and it seems that heavens are not subject of such processes.¹⁴² Such arguments suggest that the belief in the soul of the heavenly bodies was still alive in the Byzantine era, although it seems that the "official" doctrine was against it: the historian and theologian Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries C. E.) compared with an animated being the star that appeared when Jesus Christ was born, but the same author pronounced that it was anathema to state that the heaven, the Sun, the Moon, the heavenly bodies, and the waters above heaven are animated beings.¹⁴³ Between the same thirteenth-fourteenth centuries lived St. Gregorius Palamas, who stated that there is no heavenly or cosmic soul, because the only existing souls are those human and rational, and Sophonias named the doctrine of the heavenly bodies being animated "a fancy of the Greeks."¹⁴⁴ In the fifteenth century, Gennadius Scholarius, in his abridged version of St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra gentiles*, wrote that there are very few people who admit that the celestial bodies be animated.¹⁴⁵

Denying that the heavenly bodies could have a soul might be due, among other factors, to the controversy against the Manichaeans, who, according to Matthaeus Blastares (fourteenth century C. E.), still commanded to worship the Moon and the

heavenly bodies as gods.¹⁴⁶ We can remember that in the fifth-fourth centuries B. C. E. the concept of the soul of the heavenly bodies was closely related to that of their divinity, so we may assume that the Christian Church, not admitting the divinity of the heavenly bodies, would not be prone to admit that they might have a soul (although, for example, Origen is said to have admitted that they have).¹⁴⁷ And we think it was not by mere chance if these two phenomena coincided among early Christian and medieval authors:

a) The heavenly bodies were deprived of their divine status (and even of their souls), and

b) Allusions to and interpretations of the celestial Sirens as bearers of the harmony of the spheres became more and more scarce, as we saw in our overview of the evidence and subsequent sections.

¹⁴⁶ a) For example Anaxagoras, according to D. L., 2, 12 (τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων συγκέειτο). Achilles Tatius, *Isagoga excerpta*, 13, mentions Democritus and Epicurus, besides Anaxagoras (Ζῶιον δὲ ἐστίν, ὡς Εὐδωρὸς (p. 22 Diels), ἔμψυχος οὐσία. τοὺς ἀστέρας δὲ ζῶια εἶναι οὔτε Ἀναξαγόραι (p. 159 Schaub) οὔτε Δημοκρίτῳ ἐν τῷ Μεγάλῳ <δια>κόσμῳ δοκεῖ οὔτε Ἐπικούρῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἡρόδοτον Ἐπιτομῇ (p. 2 et 28 Us), δοκεῖ δὲ Πλάτῳ ἐν Τιμαίῳ (p. 40 B), Ἀριστοτέλει ἐν δευτέρῳ Περὶ οὐρανοῦ (p. 292 b), Χρυσίππῳ ἐν τῷ Περὶ προνοίας καὶ θεῶν). Cf. also St. Augustine, *CD*, 18, 41 (*Vnde miror cur Anaxagoras reus factus sit, quia solem dixit esse lapidem ardentem, negans utique deum, cum in eadem ciuitate gloria floruerit Epicurus uixeritque securus, non solum solem uel ullum siderum deum esse non credens*, cf. <http://phil.flet.mita.keio.ac.jp/person/nakagawa/texts/august/cd/cd18.html>, June 14th 2011). Philo of Alexandria also knew philosophers for whom the heavenly bodies could not have a soul (*De somniis*, 1, 22: οἱ ἀστέρες πότερον γῆς εἰσιν ὄγκοι πυρὸς πλήρεις—ἄγκα γὰρ καὶ νάπας καὶ μύδρους διαπύρους εἶπον αὐτοὺς εἶναι τινες, αὐτοὶ δεσμοτηρίου καὶ μύλωνος, ἐν οἷς τὰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, ὄντες ἐπάξιοι—ἢ συνεχῆς καί, ὡς εἶπέ τις, πυκνὴ ἁρμονία, πηλῆματα ἀδιάλυτα αἰθέρος; ἔμψυχοι δὲ καὶ νοεοὶ ἢ νοῦ καὶ ψυχῆς ἀμέτοχοι). b) It seems that the Christians did not admit in general that the heavens or the heavenly spheres / bodies could have a soul, as we shall see later (cf. below our note 137 a).

¹⁴⁷ Alcmaeon, 24 B 12 DK, *ap. Arist., De anima*, 405 a 19 – b 1: παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἀλκμαίων εἰσεν ὑπολαβεῖν περὶ ψυχῆς· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι διὰ τὸ εἰκέναι τοῖς ἀθανάτοις· τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτῇ ὡς αἰετὶ κινουμένη· κινεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντα συνεχῶς αἰεῖ, σελήνην, ἥλιον, τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον. Cf. Cic. *ND*, I, 11, 27 (*Crotoniates autem Alcmaeon, qui soli et lunae reliquisque sideribus omnibus animoque praeterea divinitatem dedit, non sensit sese mortalibus rebus immortalitatem dare*); Clem. Al., *Protr.*, 5, 66 (ὁ γὰρ τοῖς Κροτωνιάτης Ἀλκμαίων θεοὺς ὥϊετο τοὺς ἀστέρας εἶναι ἐμψύχους ὄντας), and Sophonias (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries C. E.), *In Aristotelis libros de anima paraphrasis*, p. 14, lines 30-5 Hayduck (παραπλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἀλκμαίων ὁ Κροτωνιάτης, Πυθαγορικὸς ὢν, ὑπολαβεῖν εἰσεπερὶ ψυχῆς· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι διὰ τὸ εἰκέναι τοῖς ἀθανάτοις, τοῦτο δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτῇ ὡς αἰετὶ κινουμένη· κινεῖσθαι γὰρ καὶ τὰ θεῖα πάντα συνεχῶς αἰεῖ, σελήνην, ἥλιον, τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανόν). For Alcmaeon's chronology, we may remember that his book was dedicated to Brotinos, Leon, and

Bathyllos (24 B 1 DK, *ap.* D. L., 8, 83: Ἀλκμαίων Κροτωνιήτης τὰδε ἔλεξε Πειρίθου υἱὸς Βροτίνωι καὶ Λέοντι καὶ Βαθύλλωι), and that Brotinos was a relative of Pythagoras (cf. Wellman, 1897, 890-1, and D. L., 8, 42: Ἦν δὲ τῷ Πυθαγόρῃ καὶ γυνή, Θεανῶ ὄνομα, Βροντίνου τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου θυγάτηρ· οἱ δὲ, γυναῖκα μὲν εἶναι Βροντίνου, μαθήτριαν δὲ Πυθαγόρου).

¹⁰⁸ About Anaximander, cf. Eus. Caes., *PE*, 14, 16, 6 (Ἀναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους θεοὺς), and Aetius, I, 7, 12, p. 302, lines 3-4 Diels, *ap.* Stob., I, 1, 29 b (Ἀναξίμανδρος ἀπεφάνετο τοὺς ἀπείρους οὐρανούς θεοὺς). Cf. also Ps. Epicharmos, fr. 239 Kaibel = 8 DK, *ap.* Stob., 4, 31, 30, stated the divinity of heavenly bodies (Ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας), and the sentry of Agamemnon's palace, at the beginning of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, mentions "the night's stars, those radiant potentates conspicuous in the firmament" (A. Ag., 6-7: λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι / ἀστέρας, transl. by Herbert Weir Smyth, cf. <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0004:card=1>, June 6th 2011).

¹⁰⁹ Ps. Plutarch, *De Homero* (2), lines 1098-1106 (καὶ τὸ ἔμψυχον καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ κινήσει αὐτοπροαίρετον, ἐν οἷς ἀπειλεῖ

δύσομαι εἰς Αἶδαο καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω.

καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ

Ἥελι', ἦ τοι μὲν σὺ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι φάινε

καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν.

ἐξ ὧν δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐ πῦρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἥλιος ἀλλ' ἐτέρα τις κρείσσω οὐσία, ὅπερ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπέλαβεν, εἴ γε τὸ μὲν πῦρ ἐστὶν ἀνωφερὲς καὶ ἄψυχον καὶ διαλείπον καὶ φθαρτόν, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος κυκλοφορικὸς καὶ ἔμψυχος καὶ αἰδῖος καὶ ἀφθαρτος).

¹¹⁰ a) Plato, *Leges*, 898 d – 899 b:

ΑΘ. Ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, εἴπερ ψυχὴ περιάγει πάντα, ἄρ' οὐ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστον;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Περὶ ἐνὸς δὴ ποιησώμεθα λόγους, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἡμῖν ἄστρα ἀρμόττοντες φανοῦνται.

ΚΛ. Τίνος;

ΑΘ. Ἥλιου πᾶς ἄνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὁρᾷ, ψυχὴν δὲ οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλου σώματος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντος τῶν ζώων, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίς πολλὴ τὸ παρὰπαν (ε.) τὸ γένος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι περιπεφυκέναι, νοητὸν δ' εἶναι. νῦν μόνῳ δὴ καὶ διανοήματι λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ πέρι τὸ τοιόνδε.

ΚΛ. Ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἥλιον εἴπερ ἄγει ψυχὴν, τριῶν αὐτὴν ἐν λέγοντες δρᾶν σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀποτευξόμεθα.

ΚΛ. Τίνων;

ΑΘ. Ὡς ἡ ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερῇ τούτῳ φαινομένῳ σώματι πάντῃ διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμᾶς ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴ πάντῃ περιφέρει· ἢ ποθεν ἔξωθεν σῶμα αὐτῇ 899. (a.) πορισμένη πυρὸς ἢ τινος ἀέρος, ὡς λόγος ἐστὶ τινων, ὡθεὶ βίᾳ σώματι σῶμα· ἢ τρίτον αὐτῇ ψιλὴ σώματος οὐσα, ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας θαύματι, ποδηγεῖ.

ΚΛ. Naί, τοῦτο μὲν ἀνάγκη, τούτων ἐν γέ τι δρῶσαν ψυχὴν πάντα διάγειν.

ΑΘ. Αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον ταύτην τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτε ἐν ἄρμασιν ἔχουσα ἡμῖν ἥλιον ἄγει φῶς τοῖς ἅπασι, εἴτε ἔξωθεν, εἴθ' ὅπως εἴθ' ὅπη, θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι χρεὼν πάντα ἄνδρα. ἢ πῶς;

(b.) ΚΛ. Naί, τὸν γέ που μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένον ἀνοίας.

ΑΘ. Ἄστρον δὴ πέρι πάντων καὶ σελήνης, ἐνιαυτῶν τε καὶ μηνῶν καὶ πασῶν ὥρῶν πέρι, τίνα ἄλλον λόγον ἐροῦμεν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἢ ψυχὰι πάντων τούτων αἰτιαὶ ἐφάνησαν, ἀγαθαὶ δὲ

πάσαν ἀρετήν, θεοὺς αὐτὰς εἶναι φήσομεν, εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐνοῦσαι, ζῶα ὄντα, κοσμοῦσιν πάντα οὐρανόν, εἴτε ὅπῃ τε καὶ ὅπως;

b) Pl. *Leg.*, 966 e:

Ἐν μὲν ὁ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλέγομεν, ὡς πρεσβυτάτον τε καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν πάντων ὧν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἀέναον οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν· ἐν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν φορὰν, ὡς ἔχει τάξεως, ἀστρων τε καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐγκρατὴς νοῦς ἐστιν τὸ πᾶν διακεκοσμηκώς.

c) Pl. *Leg.*, 967 e:

Οὐκ ἐστιν ποτὲ γενέσθαι βεβαίως θεοσεβὴ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὅς ἂν μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ταῦτα νῦν δύο λάβῃ, ψυχὴ τε ὡς ἐστιν πρεσβυτάτον ἀπάντων ὅσα γονῆς μετείληφεν, ἀθάνατόν τε, ἄρχει τε δὴ σωμάτων πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δὴ, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πολλάκις, τὸν τε εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς ἀστροῖς νοῦν.

d) Ps. Plato, *Epinomis*, 981 e: νομίσαι δὲ δὴ δεῖ πάλιν τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν ζῶων γένη, ὃ δὴ πᾶν χρὴ φάναι θείον γένος ἀστρων γεγενῆσθαι, σώματος μὲν τυχὸν καλλίστου, ψυχῆς δ' εὐδαιμονεστάτης τε καὶ ἀρίστης.

e) Ps. Plato, *Epinomis*, 982 a-983 c: Νοήσωμεν οὖν πρῶτον, ὃ λέγομεν, δύο τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι ζῶα—πάλιν γὰρ λέγωμεν—ὁρατὰ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πυρός, ὡς δόξειεν ἂν, ὅλον, τὸ δ' ἐκ γῆς, καὶ τὸ μὲν γήινον ἐν ἀταξίᾳ, τὸ δ' ἐκ πυρός ἐν τάξει πάσῃ κινούμενον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν ἀταξίᾳ κινούμενον ἄφρον χρὴ νομίζειν, ὅπερ ὡς τὸ (b.) πολὺ δορᾷ τὸ περὶ ἡμᾶς ζῶον, τὸ δὲ ἐν τάξει τε καὶ οὐρανῷ πόρον ἔχον μέγα τεκμήριον χρὴ ποιέσθαι τοῦ φρόνιμον εἶναι· κατὰ ταῦτα γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὡσαύτως πορευόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ ποιοῦν καὶ πάσχον τεκμήριον ἱκανὸν τοῦ φρονίμως ζῆν εἴη παρεχόμενον. ἡ ψυχῆς δὲ ἀνάγκη νοῦν κεκτημένης ἀπασῶν ἀναγκῶν πολὺ μεγίστη γίγνεται· ἂν—ἄρχουσα γὰρ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀρχομένη νομοθετεῖ—τὸ δὲ ἀμετάστροφον, ὅταν ψυχὴ τὸ (c.) ἄριστον κατὰ τὸν ἄριστον βουλευσῇται νοῦν, τὸ τέλος ἐκβαίνει τῷ ὄντι κατὰ νοῦν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀδάμας ἂν αὐτοῦ κρείττον οὐδὲ ἀμεταστροφώτερον ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ὄντως τρεῖς Μοῖραι κατέχουσαι φυλάττουσι τέλος εἶναι τὸ βελτίστη βουλῇ βεβουλευμένον ἐκάστοις θεῶν. τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐχρὴν τεκμήριον εἶναι τοῦ νοῦν ἔχειν ἄστρα τε καὶ σύμπασαν ταύτην τὴν διαπορείαν, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἀεὶ πράττει διὰ τὸ βεβουλευμένα πάλαι πράττειν θαυμαστόν τινα χρόνον (d.) ὅσον, ἀλλ' οὐ μεταβουλευόμενον ἄνω καὶ κάτω, τοτὲ μὲν ἔτερα, ἄλλοτε δὲ ἄλλα πράττον, πλανᾶσθαι τε καὶ μετακυκλεῖσθαι. τοῦθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτὸ τοῦναντίον ἔδοξεν, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως πράττει, ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔχειν· οὕτω τοῖς ἀφροσι συνεφέσπετο τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπινον ἔμφρον καὶ ζῶν ὡς κινούμενον ὑπολαβεῖν, τὸ δὲ θείον ἄφρον ὡς μένον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς φοραῖς· ἐξῆν δὲ ἀνθρώπῳ γε ἐπὶ (e.) τὰ καλλίω καὶ βελτίω καὶ φίλα τιθεμένῳ λαμβάνειν ὡς διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἔμφρον δεῖ νομίζειν τὸ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πράττον ἀεὶ, τοῦτο δ' εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἀστρων φύσιν, ἰδεῖν μὲν καλλίστην, πορείαν δὲ καὶ χορείαν πάντων χορῶν καλλίστην καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην χορεύοντα πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσι τὸ δέον ἀποτελεῖν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε δικαίως 983. (a.) ἔμψυχα αὐτὰ λέγομεν, πρῶτον τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν διανοηθῶμεν. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς σμικρὰ φαντάζεται, τηλικαῦτα ὄντως ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀμήχανον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τὸν ὄγκον—πιστεῦσαι δ' ἄξιον· ἀποδείξεσιν γὰρ ἱκαναῖς λαμβάνεται—τὸν γὰρ ἥλιον ὅλον τῆς γῆς ὅλης μείζω διανοηθῆναι δυνατόν ὀρθῶς, καὶ πάντα δὴ τὰ φερόμενα ἄστρα θαυμαστόν τι μέγεθος ἔχει. λάβωμεν δὴ τίς τρόπος ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον περιφέρειν ὄγκον τινὰ φύσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ὅσον καὶ νῦν περιφέρεται. (b.) θεὸν δὴ φημι τὸν αἴτιον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ οὐποθ' ἐτέρως εἶναι δυνατόν· ἔμψυχον μὲν γὰρ οὐποτε γένοιτ' ἂν ἐτέρα πλὴν διὰ θεόν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἀπεφηνάμεθα. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο οἷός τέ ἐστιν θεός, ἅπανα αὐτῷ ῥασιώνῃ γέγονεν τοῦ πρῶτον μὲν ζῶον γεγενῆσθαι πᾶν σῶμα καὶ ὄγκον σύμπαντα, ἔπειτα, ἥπερ ἂν διανοηθῇ βέλτιστα, ταύτη φέρειν. νῦν δὴ περὶ ἀπάντων τούτων ἓνα λόγον λέγομεν ἀληθῆ· οὐκ ἐστιν γῆν τε καὶ (c.) οὐρανὸν ἅπαντάς τε ἀστέρας ὄγκους τε ἐκ τούτων σύμπαντας, μὴ ψυχῆς πρὸς ἐκάστῳ γενομένης ἢ καὶ ἐν ἐκάστοις, εἴτα εἰς ἀκριβείαν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτω πορεύεσθαι κατὰ μὴνάς τε καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ σύμπαντα τὰ γινόμενα σύμπασιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὰ γίγνεσθαι.

Alexander Polyhistor, *F Gr H 273 F 93* Jacoby = fr. 140 Müller: "Ἡλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας εἶναι θεούς· ἐπικρατεῖν γὰρ τὸ θερμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅπερ ἐστὶ ζωῆς αἴτιον.

C. As for Philolaus, cf. Aetius, *Plac.*, II, 7, 7, pp. 336-7 Diels (*ap. Stob.* I, 22, 1d = Philolaus, 44 A 16 DK = A 16b Huffman: Φ. πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον ὅπερ ἐστὶν τοῦ παντός καλεῖ [B 7] καὶ Διὸς οἶκον καὶ μητέρα θεῶν βωμόν τε καὶ σὺνοχὴν καὶ μέτρον φύσεως. καὶ πάλιν πῦρ ἕτερον ἀνωτάτω τὸ περιέχον. πρῶτον δ' εἶναι φύσει τὸ μέσον, περὶ δὲ τοῦτο δέκα σώματα θεῖα χορεύειν.

D. Pythagoras said that souls had been sown in the ten spheres of his cosmology, according to Joannes Lydus Laurentius, *De mensibus*, IV, 51, lines 33-4 Wünsch (διὸ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν ταῖς δέκα σφαίραις οὕτως καὶ αὐτῇ ψυχᾷ ἐνεσπάρθαι φησί).

¹¹⁴ Porphyry, *Vita Pythagorae*, 41 (= Arist. fr. 196 Rose = 159 Gigon = "Pythagoristae", 58 C 2 DK): ἔλεγε δέ τινα καὶ μυστικῶς τρόπῳ συμβολικῶς, ἃ δὴ ἐπὶ πλέον Ἀριστοτέλης ἀνέγραψεν· οἷον ὅτι τὴν θάλατταν μὲν ἐκάλει εἶναι δάκρυον, τὰς δ' ἄρκτους ῥέας χεῖρας, τὴν δὲ πλειάδα μουσῶν λύραν, τοὺς δὲ πλανήτας κύνας τῆς Φερσεφόνης. τὸν δ' ἐκ χαλκοῦ κρουομένου γινόμενον ἦχον φωνὴν εἶναι τινος τῶν δαιμόνων ἐναπειλημμένου τῷ χαλκῷ. On the Pleiads as lyre of the Muses, cf. our chapter II. 4.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Cumont, 1935, 8; Gundel, 1950, 2054, and Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, 342 b 29-35: τῶν δ' Ἰταλικῶν τινες καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων ἔνα λέγουσιν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τε χρόνου τὴν φαντασίαν αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ μικρόν, ὅπερ συμβαίνει καὶ περὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστέρα· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μικρὸν ἐπαναβαίνειν πολλὰς ἐκλείπει φάσεις, ὥστε διὰ χρόνου φαίνεσθαι πολλοῦ.

¹¹⁶ On the divinity of heavenly bodies, according to Xenocrates, cf.:

a) Fr. 263 Isnardi-Parente, *ap. Cic. ND*, 1, 34: *Nec vero eius condiscipulus Xenocrates in hoc genere prudentior est, cuius in libris qui sunt de natura deorum nulla species divina describitur; deos enim octo esse dicit, quinque eos qui in stellis vagis nominantur, unum qui ex omnibus sideribus quae infixae caelo sint ex dispersis quasi membris simplex sit putandus deus, septimum solem adiungit octavamque lunam.*

b) Fr. 213 Isnardi-Parente, *ap. Aetius*, I, 7, 30 (p. 304 Diels; cf. also *Stob.*, I, 1, 29b, lines 44-57): Ξενοκράτης Ἀγαθήνορος Καλχηδόνιος τὴν μονάδα καὶ τὴν δυάδα θεούς, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἄρρενα πατρὸς ἔχουσαν τάξιν ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύουσαν, ἥντινα προσαγορεύει καὶ Ζήνα καὶ περιττὸν καὶ νοῦν, ὅστις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πρῶτος θεός· τὴν δ' ὡς θήλειαν, μητρὸς θεῶν δίκην, τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν λήξεως ἡγουμένην, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ψυχὴ τοῦ παντός. θεὸν δ' εἶναι καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας πυρώδεις ὀλυμπίους θεούς, καὶ ἐτέρους ὑποσελήνους δαίμονας ἀοράτους. ἀρέσκει δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ <θεῖας τινὰς δυνάμεις> καὶ ἐνδιήκειν τοῖς ὑλικοῖς στοιχείοις. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν <διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος Ἄϊδην> ἀειδῆ προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦ ὕγρου Ποσειδῶνα, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς φυτοσπῶρον Δήμητρα. ταῦτα δὲ χορηγήσας τοῖς Στωικοῖς τὰ πρότερα παρὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος μεταπέφρακεν. Aetius is a doxographer of the first-second centuries CE (cf. Diels, 1879, 100-1 of the "Prolegomena").

c) Fr. 161 Isnardi-Parente, *ap. Plut.*, *De facie in orbe Lunae*, 29, 943 e – 944 a: Ἐφορῶσι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῆς σελήνης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὴν φύσιν οὐχ ἀπλὴν οὐδ' ἄμικτον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἄστρου σύγκραμα καὶ γῆς οὖσαν· ὡς γὰρ ἡ γῆ πνεύματι μεμιγμένη καὶ ὕγρῳ ** μαλακῇ γέγονε καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῇ σαρκὶ παρέχειν τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐγκεκραμένον, οὕτω τῷ αἰθέρι λέγουσι τὴν σελήνην ἀνακεκραμένην διὰ βάθους ἅμα μὲν ἔμψυχον εἶναι καὶ γόνιμον, ἅμα δ' ἰσόρροπον ἔχειν τὴν πρὸς τὸ βαρὺ συμμετρίαν τῆς κουφότητος. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν οὕτω τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω φύσει φερομένων συνηρμοσμένον ἀπηλλάχθαι παντάπασιν τῆς κατὰ τόπον κινήσεως. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Ξενοκράτης ἔοικεν ἐννοῆσαι θεῖῳ τινὶ λογισμῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν παρὰ Πλάτωνος. Πλάτων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἕκαστον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς συνηρμόσθαι διὰ τῶν ** μεταξὺ φύσεων ἀναλογίᾳ δοθεῖσων ἀποφηνάμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἰς αἴσθησιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι, ᾧ μὴ τι γῆς ἐμμέμκται καὶ φωτός. ὁ δὲ Ξενοκράτης τὰ μὲν ἄστρα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκ πυρός φησι καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου πυκνοῦ

συγκείσθαι, τὴν δὲ σελήνην ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου πυκνοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀέρος, τὴν δὲ γῆν ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πυρὸς καὶ τοῦ τρίτου τῶν πυκνῶν· ὅλως δὲ μήτε τὸ πυκνὸν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μήτε τὸ μανὸν εἶναι ψυχῆς δεκτικόν.

d) Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 5, 66, 2: Ξενοκράτης (Καλχηδόνιος οὐτός) ἐπτά μὲν θεοὺς τοὺς πλανήτας, ὄγδοον δὲ τὸν ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἀπλανῶν συνεστῶτα κόσμον αἰνίττεται.

¹¹⁷ a) Ancient tradition about the divinity of heavenly bodies, hinted at by Aristotle, *Metaph.*, 1074 b 1-3: παραδέδοται δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ παμπалаίων ἐν μύθου σχήματι καταλειμμένα τοῖς ὕστερον ὅτι θεοὶ τέ εἰσιν οὗτοι καὶ περιέχει τὸ θεῖον τὴν ὅλην φύσιν.

b) Cf. also Cicero, *ND*, II, 42-44 (= Arist. fr. 23 Rose, 835 Gigon): *Cum igitur aliorum animantium ortus in terra sit aliorum in aqua in aere aliorum, absurdum esse Aristoteli videtur in ea parte quae sit ad gignenda animantia aptissima animal gigni nullum putare. sidera autem aetherium locum optinent; qui quoniam tenuissimus est et semper agitur et viget, necesse est quod animal in eo gignatur id et sensu acerrimo et mobilitate celerrima esse. quare cum in aethere astra gignantur, consentaneum est in his sensum inesse et intellegentiam, ex quo efficitur in deorum numero astra esse ducenda. Etenim licet videre acutiora ingenia et ad intellegendum aptiora eorum qui terras incolant eas in quibus aer sit purus ac tenuis quam illorum qui 2.43. utantur crasso caelo atque concreto. quin etiam cibo quo utare interesse aliquid ad mentis aciem putant. probabile est igitur praestantem intellegentiam in sideribus esse, quae et aetheriam partem mundi incolant et marinis terrenisque umoribus longo intervallo extenuatis alantur. Sensum autem astrorum atque intellegentiam maxime declarat ordo eorum atque constantia (nihil est enim quod ratione et numero moveri possit sine consilio), in quo nihil est temerarium nihil varium nihil fortuitum. ordo autem siderum et in omni aeternitate constantia neque naturam significat (est enim plena rationis) neque fortunam, quae amica varietati constantiam respuit. sequitur ergo ut ipsa sua sponte suo sensu ac divinitate moveantur. 2.44. Nec vero Aristoteles non laudandus in eo quod omnia quae moventur aut natura moveri censuit aut vi aut voluntate; moveri autem solem et lunam et sidera omnia; quae autem natura moverentur, haec aut pondere deorsum aut levitate in sublime ferri, quorum neutrum astris contingeret propterea quod eorum motus in orbem circumque ferretur; nec vero dici potest vi quadam maiore fieri ut contra naturam astra moveantur (quae enim potest maior esse?); restat igitur ut motus astrorum sit voluntarius.*

c) Aristotle seems to state that the heaven has a soul, in *De caelo*, 285 a 27-30: Ἡμῖν δ' ἐπεὶ διώρισται πρότερον ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἔχουσιν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως αἱ τοιαύται δυνάμεις ἐνυπάρχουσιν, ὁ δ' οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχος καὶ ἔχει κινήσεως ἀρχήν. But in other passages Aristotle seems to reject that doctrine; cf. for example *De caelo*, 284 a 27-9: Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ὑπὸ ψυχῆς εὐλογον ἀναγκαζούσης μένειν αἰδῖον· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς ψυχῆς οἶόν τ' εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν ἄλυπον καὶ μακαρίαν. Moreover, in *De caelo*, 268 b 26 – 269 a 7, Aristotle suggests that heavenly movements are as they are due to its own nature (that is, not because of the action of a soul; cf. *De caelo*, 284 a 27-9): Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σωμάτων τὰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπλά τὰ δὲ σύνθετα ἐκ τούτων (λέγω δ' ἀπλά μὲν ὅσα κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἔχει κατὰ φύσιν, οἷον πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ τὰ τούτων εἶδη καὶ τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις), ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰς κινήσεις εἶναι τὰς μὲν ἀπλὰς τὰς δὲ μικτὰς πως, (269a.) καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀπλῶν ἀπλὰς, μικτὰς δὲ τῶν συνθέτων, κινεῖσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπικρατοῦν. Εἶπερ οὖν ἐστὶν ἀπλή κίνησις, ἀπλή δ' ἡ κύκλω κίνησις, καὶ τοῦ τε ἀπλοῦ σώματος ἀπλή ἡ κίνησις καὶ ἡ ἀπλή κίνησις ἀπλοῦ σώματος (καὶ γὰρ ἂν συνθέτου ἦ, κατὰ τὸ ἐπικρατοῦν ἔσται), ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τι σῶμα ἀπλοῦν ὃ πέφυκε φέρεσθαι τὴν κύκλω κίνησιν κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν.

d) The doxography about Aristotle's view concerning the soul of heaven and of heavenly bodies is rather confusing as well:

d. 1. Aristotle would not have attributed a soul to the universe, but to the heavenly spheres and bodies, according to Aetius, II, 3, 4 (= Diels, 1879, 330 a, lines 8-15; cf. Stob., I, 21, 6b): Ἀριστοτέλης οὔτε ἔμψυχον ὅλον δι' ὅλου οὔτε λογικὸν οὔτε νοερὸν οὔτε προνοία διοικούμενον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐράνια πάντων τούτων κοινωνεῖν, σφαίρας γὰρ περιέχειν ἐμψύχους καὶ ζωτικές, τὰ δὲ περίγεια μηδενὸς αὐτῶν, τῆς δ' εὐταξίας κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς οὐ προηγουμένως μετέχειν); the same text was quoted later by Eus. Caes., *PE*, 15, 34, 2, and, with

small textual variants, by Cyrillus of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, 2, 15, lines 10-5. On the other hand cf. also Aetius V, 20, 1 (= Diels, 1879, 432 a, lines 4-8: Π λ ά τ ω ν καὶ Ἀ ρ ι σ τ ο τ έ λ η ς τέτταρα γένη ζώων, χερσαία ἔνυδρα πτηνὰ οὐράνια. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄστρα ζῶα λέγεσθαι * τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὸν * ἔνθεον, ζῶον λογικὸν ἀθάνατον).

d. 2. But on the other hand, according to Arius Didymus, fr. 9 (= Diels, 1879, 450), *ap.* Stob., I, 22, 1 c, Aristotle would have thought heaven and heavenly bodies to be made of ether, and that the ether has a soul; moreover, the heavenly bodies are distributed in spheres, and there are so many spheres as gods who move them: (Ἀ ρ ι σ τ ο τ έ λ ο υ ς) Περιέχεσθαι δὲ ταῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ αἰθέρος, ἔνθα τὰ θεῖα διανενημμένα κατὰ σφαίρας ἴδρυται τῶν λεγομένων ἀπλανῶν τε καὶ πλανωμένων ἀστέρων. ὅσας δὲ εἶναι τὰς σφαίρας, τοσούτους ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοὺς κινούντας θεοὺς ταύτας, ὧν μέγιστον τὸν πάσας περιέχοντα, ζῶον ὄντα λογικὸν καὶ μακάριον, συνεκτικὸν καὶ προνοητικὸν τῶν οὐρανίων. συνεστάναι δὲ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκ τοῦ αἰθέρος, τοῦτον δὲ οὔτε βαρὺν οὔτε κοῦφον, οὔτε γενητὸν οὔτε φθαετόν, οὔτε ἀυξόμενον οὔτε μειούμενον ἐς αἰὲ διαμένειν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀναλλοίωτον πεπερασμένον καὶ σφαιροειδὴ καὶ ἔμψυχον κινούμενον περὶ τὸ μέσον ἐγκυκλίως). We can find a fragment of this last quotation (from the words συνεστάναι δὲ τὰ ἄστρα up to the end of the passage) in Stob., I, 23, 2.

d. 3. Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In Aristotelis Metaphysica commentaria*, p. 373, lines 5-8 Hayduck, wrote that Aristotle admitted that the heavenly bodies have also a soul (λέγει δὲ καὶ δαιμόνια οὕτως οὐσίας, ἥτοι καθ' οὓς δαίμονες εἰσι, λέγων κακείνους τοιαύτας οὐσίας εἶναι, εἴ γε κακείνοι ἐκ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, ἡ δαιμόνια τὰ θεῖα λέγει τοιαύτα γὰρ τὰ ἄστρα καὶ τὰ τούτων μέρη), and *ibid.*, p. 701, lines 4-6 Hayduck (τί δὲ ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἀπλανὴς οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ψυχῆς κινήσεται; ἡ κινεῖται μὲν καὶ ἡ ἀπλανὴς καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ σφαῖραι ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν); *ibid.*, p. 706, line 31 – p. 707, line 6 Hayduck (ἀλλὰ τίνα τὰ τῶν σφαιρῶν ποιητικὰ αἷτια, ἃ νῦν παραδίδωσι; πότερον αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ εἶδη αὐτῶν; ἡ οὐ τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς φησιν, ἐπεὶ οὐχ αὐταὶ θεοί; αὐταὶ γὰρ εἶδη οὐσαι τῶν σφαιρῶν ἐν αὐταῖς εἰσι, καὶ κινοῦσιν αὐτὰς κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς φύσεως μᾶς οὐσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κινήσεως (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἄλλη ἡ τῆς φύσεως κίνησις), καὶ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως αἱ σφαῖραι τὴν αὐτοφυᾶ καὶ ἀβίαστον καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ἐπιτηδειότητα πρὸς τὸ κινεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν μεταβατικὴν ἐνέργειαν, πρὸς ἣν (707.) πεφύκασι διὰ τὴν φύσιν. οὐ τὰς τούτων οὖν ψυχὰς λέγει, ἀλλ' ἑτέρας οὐσίας ἀσωμάτων καὶ χωρὶς σώματος, ὑφειμένας μὲν τοῦ πρώτου νοῦ ὅσον αἱ σφαῖραι, εἰ χρὴ λέγειν, τῆς ἀπλανοῦς, ὑπερτέρας δὲ τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν σφαιρῶν· ὥστε αἱ σφαῖραι ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν κινοῦνται, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων θεῶν, ὡς ἡ ἀπλανὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου νοός).

d. 4. The Ps. Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum*, seems to admit that, for Aristotle, each cosmic sphere had a soul: cf. *Placita philosophorum*, 881 e-f (Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν εἶδος χωριστὸν (F.) ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἰθέριον σῶμα, τὸ πέμπτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον· διηρημένου δὲ τοῦτου κατὰ σφαίρας, τῇ μὲν φύσει συναφεῖς τῷ λόγῳ δὲ κεχωρισμένας, ἐκάστην οἶται τῶν σφαιρῶν ζῶον εἶναι σύνθετον ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστιν αἰθέριον κινούμενον κυκλοφορικῶς, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ λόγος ἀκίνητος αἷτιος τῆς κινήσεως κατ' ἐνέργειαν), and 886 d—e (Ἀριστοτέλης οὐτ' ἔμψυχον ὅλον δι' ὅλων, οὔτε μὴν αἰσθητικὸν οὔτε λογικὸν οὔτε νοερὸν οὔτε προνοία διοικούμενον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐράνια τούτων ἀπάντων κοινωνεῖν, σφαῖρας γὰρ περιέχειν ἐμψύχους καὶ ζωτικὰς, τὰ δὲ περιγεία μηδενὸς αὐτῶν, τῆς δ' εὐταξίας κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς οὐ προηγουμένως μετέχειν). The first passage we have quoted reappears almost literally in the Ps. Galenus, *De historia philosophica*, 35, lines 18-24 (Ἀ ρ ι σ τ ο τ έ λ η ς δὲ τὸν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν εἶδος χωριστὸν ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός· ὅθεν ἐστὶν αἰθέριον σῶμα τὸ μέγιστον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομιζόμενον, διηρημένον κατὰ τὰς σφαίρας [διαιρέσεις] τῇ μὲν φύσει ἡμῶν συναφεῖς, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ κεχωρισμένας· ὥστ' εἶναι ζῶον σύνθετον ἐκ σώματος καὶ θεότητος καὶ τὸ μὲν * αἰθέριον, κινούμενον, κυκλοφορητικόν, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν λόγον ἀκίνητον, αἷτιον τῆς κινήσεως κατ' ἐνέργειαν); for the second one, cf.

ibid., 46 (Ἀριστοτέλης οὔτε ἔμψυχον εἶναι ὅλον δι' ὅλου <οὔτε> αἰσθητὸν οὔτε προνοία διοικούμενον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐράνια τούτων πάντων μετέχειν. σφαίρας γὰρ περιέχειν ἐμψύχους καὶ ζωτικούς, τὰ δὲ περίγεια μηδενὸς τούτων μετελκεῖναι μήτε προηγουμένως μήτε κατὰ συμβεβηκός), and Aetius, II, 3, 4, p. 330, lines 5-12 Diels, *ap. Stob.*, I, 21, 6 b (Ἀριστοτέλης οὔτε ἔμψυχον ὅλον δι' ὅλου οὔτε λογικὸν οὔτε νοερὸν οὔτε προνοία διοικούμενον. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὐράνια πάντων τούτων κοινωνεῖν, σφαίρας γὰρ περιέχειν ἐμψύχους καὶ ζωτικὰς, τὰ δὲ περίγεια μηδενὸς αὐτῶν, τῆς δ' εὐταξίας κατὰ συμβεβηκός, οὐ προηγουμένως μετέχειν).

d. 5. According to Eus. Caes., *PE*, 14, 16, 8, for Aristotle, each of the spheres is a living being, consisting of body and soul (Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν μὲν ἀνωτάτω θεὸν εἶδος χωριστόν, ἐπιβεβηκότα τῇ σφαίρᾳ τοῦ παντός, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἰθέριον σῶμα, τὸ πέμπτον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλούμενον· διηρημένου δὲ τούτου κατὰ σφαίρας τῇ μὲν φύσει συναφεῖς, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ κεχωρισμένας, ἐκάστην οἶται τῶν σφαιρῶν ζῶον εἶναι σύνθετον ἐκ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς, ὧν τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστιν αἰθέριον, κινούμενον κυκλοφορικῶς, ἡ ψυχὴ δὲ λόγος ἀεικίνητος, αἴτιος τῆς κινήσεως κατ' ἐνέργειαν). But Cyrillus of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, 2, 36, lines 5-9, put forward Aristotle's name to refute the idea that heaven could be a living and animated being (Ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε ζῶον ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἡγουν ὁ κόσμος ἀπλῶς, οὔτε μὴν ἔμψυχος ὅλως, κἂν εἰ μή τις ἔλοιτο λέγειν τῶν τελούντων ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀποχρῆ πρὸς ἔλεγχον καὶ δίχα τῶν ἄλλων οὐς φασιν εἶναι 'σοφοὺς' ὁ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος φοιτητῆς Ἀριστοτέλης).

d. 6. For Simplicius' discussion on this topic, cf. *infra*, note 138, B.

d. 7. Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth century), *Contra Plethonis ignorationem de Aristotele*, p. 99, lines 37-9 Jugie-Petit-Siderides: Διὰ ταῦτα τοσοῦτον ἐρῶ, ὅτι μοι καὶ αὐτῷ καθάπερ Πλήθωνι λίαν ἀπᾶδον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὰ ἄστρα τῇ τῶν σφαιρῶν κινήσει μόνον κινεῖσθαι, ἔμψυχα ὄντα καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλη. Cf. *eiusd.*, *Epitome summae contra gentiles Thomae Aquinae*, 2, 70, lines 1-2 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (Ἔτι καὶ ἄλλως κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλη, ὡς εἶδος ὁ νοῦς ἐνοῦται τῷ σώματι· τὸν γὰρ οὐρανὸν ἔμψυχον ἐκεῖνος εἶναι φησίν); *ibid.*, 2, 90, lines 1-2 (Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων Ἀριστοτέλους ἡ δόξα ἐκτέθεται, ὅτι ἔμψυχα αὐτὰ τίθησι); *eiusd.*, *Translatio commentarii Thomae Aquinae De anima Aristotelis*, 3, 17, lines 78-80 (Ἀλλ' ὁ φησιν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀγέννητον ἔχει νοῦν ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως, δοκεῖ ψεῦδος εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀριστοτελικὴν δόξαν· τὰ γὰρ οὐράνια σώματα, ἅπερ τίθησιν ἔμψυχα εἶναι, ἐκ τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς μερῶν τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσιν, οὐ τὴν αἰσθησιν); *eiusd.*, *Commentarium in Aristotelis Logicam et Porphyrii Isagogam*, 14, lines 113-6 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (Ἔτι, ὅπου φησὶν ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ εἰσι ζῶα λογικά, δεῖ σημειοῦσθαι, ὅτι θεοὺς ἐνταῦθα καλεῖ τὰ οὐράνια σώματα, ἅτινα ἐδόξαζόν τινες ἔμψυχα εἶναι, ἔχοντα θέλησιν καὶ ἔφεσιν, ἥς δόξης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐστίν, λέγων τὸ οὐράνια σώματα κινεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐφετοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας).

About the problem of the souls of the spheres and its tentative discussions by Aristotle's commentators, vid. Wolfson, 1962.

¹¹⁸ Proclus, *In Tim.*, vol. II, p. 122, lines 10-17 Diehl: τούτων τοίνυν οὕτω παρ' ἀμφοτέροις δεδογμένων ὁ μὲν Θεόφραστος εἰκότως ἀρχὴν κινήσεως τὴν ψυχὴν εἰπὼν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πρὸ αὐτῆς ὑποθέμενος, ἀρχῆς οὐκ οἶται δεῖν ἀρχὴν ἐπιζητεῖν· ἔμψυχον γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι δίδωσι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεῖον· εἰ γὰρ θεῖός ἐστι, φησί, καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην ἔχει διαγωγὴν, ἔμψυχός ἐστιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τίμιον ἄνευ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐν τῇ Περι οὐρανοῦ γέγραπεν.

¹¹⁹ Straton of Lampsakos, quoted by the Pseudo-Galenus, *De historia philosophica*, 75, lines 7-8: Στράτων ἄστρου φῶς [πεπληρωμένον] περιληφθὲν ψυχῇ τι. This citation by the Pseudo-Galenus was not collected by Wehrli in his edition of Straton's fragments, where we find as fr. 86 another citation about the same topic by Aetius, III, 2, 4, without such a strange mention of a soul: Στράτων ἄστρου φῶς περιληφθὲν νέφει πυκνῷ (sc. τὸν κομήτην εἶναι), καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν λαμπτήρων γίνεται.

¹²⁰ a) Cic. *ND*, I, 37 = Cleanth. fr. 530 Arnim (*SVF*, I, p. 120): *Cleanthes autem, qui Zenonem audivit una cum eo quem proxime nominavi, tum ipsum mundum deum dicit esse, tum totius naturae menti atque animo tribuit hoc nomen, tum ultimum et altissimum atque undique circumfusum et extremum omnia cingentem atque complexum ardorem, qui aether nominetur, certissimum deum iudicat; idemque quasi delirans in his libris quos scripsit contra voluptatem tum fingit formam quandam et speciem deorum, tum divinitatem omnem tribuit astris, tum nihil ratione censet esse divinius.*

b) Cic., *ND*, I, 39 = Chrysipp. fr. 1077 Arnim: *Iam vero Chrysippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrimus habetur interpres, magnam turbam congregat ignotorum deorum, atque ita ignotorum ut eos ne coniectura quidem informare possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse depingere. ait enim vim divinam in ratione esse positam et in universae naturae animo atque mente, ipsumque mundum deum dicit esse et eius animi fusionem universam, tum eius ipsius principatum qui in mente et ratione versetur, communemque rerum naturam universam atque omnia continentem, tum fatalem ῥumbram et necessitatem rerum futurarum, ignem praeterea et eum quem ante dixi aethera, tum ea quae natura fluerent atque manarent, ut et aquam et terram et aera, solem lunam sidera universitatemque rerum qua omnia continerentur, atque etiam homines eos qui immortalitatem essent consecuti.*

c) Cic., *ND*, II, 39 = Chrysipp. fr. 684 Arnim: *Atque hac mundi divinitate perspecta tribuenda est sideribus eadem divinitas; quae ex mobilissima purissimaque aetheris parte gignuntur neque ulla praeterea sunt admixta natura totaque sunt calida atque perlucida, ut ea quoque rectissime et animantia esse et sentire atque intellegere dicantur.*

d) Cic., *ND*, II, 40-1 = Cleanth. fr. 504 Arnim: *Atque ea quidem tota esse ignea duorum sensuum testimonio confirmari Cleanthes putat, tactus et oculorum. nam solis calor et candor inlustrior est quam ullius ignis, quippe qui immenso mundo tam longe lateque conluceat, et is eius tactus est, non ut tepefaciat solum sed etiam saepe comburat, quorum neutrum faceret nisi esset igneus. “ergo” inquit “cum sol igneus sit Oceanique alatur umoribus” (quia nullus ignis sine pastu aliquo possit permanere) “necesse est aut ei similis sit igni quem adhibemus ad usum atque victum, aut ei qui corporibus animantium continetur. II, 41. atqui hic noster ignis, quem usus vitae requirit, confector est et consumptor omnium idemque quocumque invasit cuncta disturbat ac dissipat; contra ille corporeus vitalis et salutaris omnia conservat alit auget sustinet sensuque adficit.” negat ergo esse dubium horum ignium sol utri similis sit, cum is quoque efficiat ut omnia floreat et in suo quaeque genere pubescant. quare cum solis ignis similis eorum ignium sit qui sunt in corporibus animantium, solem quoque animantem esse oportet, et quidem reliqua astra quae oriantur in ardore caelesti qui aether vel caelum nominatur.*

e) Cic., *Lucullus*, 119: *quancumque vero sententiam probaverit eam sic animo comprehensam habebit ut ea quae sensibus, nec magis adprobabit nunc lucere quam, quoniam Stoicus est, hunc mundum esse sapientem, habere mentem quae et se et ipsum fabricata sit et omnia moderetur moveat regat; erit ei persuasum etiam solem lunam stellas omnes terram mare deos esse, quod quaedam animalis intellegentia per omnia ea permanet et transeat.*

f) Arius Didymus, fr. 31 Diels (= Chrysipp. fr. 527 Arnim, *ap. Stob.*, I, 21, 5): *Κόσμον δ' εἶναι φησιν ὁ Χρυσίππος σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις φύσεων ἢ τὸ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων σύστημα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἔνεκα τούτων γεγονότων. λέγεται δ' ἐτέρως κόσμος ὁ θεός, καθ' ὃν ἡ διακόσμησις γίνεται καὶ τελειοῦται· τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν λεγομένου κόσμου τὸ μὲν εἶναι περιφερόμενον περὶ τὸ μέσον, τὸ δ' ὑπομένον· περιφερόμενον μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, ὑπομένον δὲ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὑγρὰ καὶ τὸν ἄερα. τὸ γὰρ τῆς πάσης οὐσίας πυκνότατον ὑπέρεισμα πάντων εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν, ὥνπερ τρόπον ἐν ζῳῇ τὰ ὀστέα, τοῦτο δὲ καλεῖσθαι γῆν. περὶ δὲ ταύτην τὸ ὕδωρ περιχεῖσθαι σφαιρικῶς, ὁμαλωτέραν τὴν ἰσχὺν διεληχός. τῆς γὰρ γῆς ἐξοχὰς τινὰς ἐχούσης ἀνωμάλους διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς ὕψος ἀνηκούσας, ταύτας μὲν νήσους καλεῖσθαι, τούτων δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ πλεῖον διηκούσας ἡπείρους προσηγορεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ περιέχεσθαι καὶ ταύτας πελάγεσι μεγάλοις. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τὸν ἄερα ἐξηφθαι καθάπερ ἐξατμισθέντα καὶ περιχεῖσθαι σφαιρικῶς, ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸν αἰθέρα ἀραιότατον ὄντα καὶ εἰλικρινέστατον. τὸν μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν διακόσμησιν λεγόμενον κόσμον εἰς ταύτας διακεκρίσθαι τὰς φύσεις, τὸ δὲ περιφερόμενον αὐτῷ*

ἐγκυκλίως αἰθέρα εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἄστροα καθίδρυνται τὰ τε ἀπλανή καὶ τὰ πλανώμενα, θεία τὴν φύσιν ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχα καὶ διοικούμενα κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν.

g) Philodemus, *De pietate*, 11 (DG, p. 547 b 11-13 Diels = Chrysipp. fr. 1076 Amim): καὶ τὸν ἥλ(ι)όν (τε) καὶ τὴ(ν) σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέ(ρ)ας θεοὺς οἶεται καὶ τὸν νόμον.

h) Philo of Alexandria, *De aeternitate mundi*, 47 = Chrysipp. fr. 613 Amim: καὶ μὴν οἱ γε τὰς ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ τὰς παλιγγενεσίας εἰσηγούμενοι τοῦ κόσμου νομίζουσι καὶ ὁμολογοῦσι τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοὺς εἶναι. Philo of Alexandria mentioned himself the stars as living beings, the abode of which is in heaven, just like the abode of other animals is on the earth or in the sea; cf. *De somniis*, 1, 135: πάντα τῷ ποιητῇ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη καλὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι ζώων ἀναπληρώσαι. διὰ τοῦτο γῇ μὲν τὰ χερσαῖα ἐγκατεσκευάζε, θαλάτταις δὲ καὶ ποταμοῖς τὰ ἔνυδρα, οὐρανῷ δὲ τοὺς ἀστέρας.

i) Aetius, I, 7, 33 = Chrysipp. fr. 1027 Amim: Οἱ Στωϊκοὶ νοερὸν θεὸν ἀποφαίνονται, πῦρ τεχνικόν, ὁδῷ βαδίζον ἐπὶ γένεσιν κόσμου, ἐμπεριειληφὸς πάντας τοὺς σπερματικὸς λόγους, καθ' οὓς ἕκαστα καθ' εἰσαρμένην γίνεται καὶ πνεῦμα μὲν διήκον δι' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, τὰς δὲ προσηγορίας μεταλαμβάνον κατὰ τὰς τῆς ὕλης, δι' ἧς κεχώρηκε, παραλλάξεις. θεοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὴν γῆν, τὸν δ' ἄνωπᾶτο πάντων νοῦν ἐν αἰθέρι (cf. also Ps. Plutarch, *Placita philosophorum*, 881 f – 882 a; Ps. Galenus, *De historia philosophica*, 35, and Eus. Caes., *PE*, 14, 16, 9).

j) Plutarch, *De stoicorum repugnantiis*, 1053 a (= Chrysipp. fr. 579 Amim): ἔμψυχον ἡγεῖται τὸν ἥλιον.

¹²¹ Theophrastus, fr. 6, section 46, lines 3-4 (Ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ χειμῶνος μὲν φαινόμενος ψύχη σημαίνει θέρους δὲ καῦμα); *Anonymus Photii*, p. 239, lines 2-8 Thesleff (ὅτι δώδεκα τάξεις φησὶν εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πρώτην καὶ ἐξωτάτω τὴν ἀπλανή σφαῖραν, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν ὁ τε πρῶτος θεὸς καὶ οἱ νοητοὶ θεοί, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, κατὰ δὲ Πλάτωνα αἱ ἰδέαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπλανή ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου τέτακται ἀστήρ καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς πλάνητες ἕξ, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς φημι, ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεος, ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὁ τῆς σελήνης, εἴτα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς σφαῖρα, ἐξῆς ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος, μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ ὁ τῆς σελήνης, εἴτα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς σφαῖρα, ἐξῆς ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος, μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος, λοιπὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡ γῇ); Alexander of Ephesus, fr. 21 *SH* (cf. our chapter II.3, n. 248 c); Arius Didymus, fr. 31 Diels (= Chrysipp. fr. 527 Amim, *ap.* Stob., I, 21, 5, after the lines quoted in the previous note, section “F”): Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων ἀκατάληπτον εἶναι τὸ πλήθος, τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα ἐπὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἶναι, πάντα δὲ τὰ πλανώμενα ταπεινότερα τῶν ἀπλανῶν. Τετάχθαι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀπλανή ἐπὶ μᾶς ἐπιφανείας, ὡς καὶ ὁράται. τὰ δὲ πλανώμενα ἐπ' ἄλλης καὶ ἄλλης σφαίρας· περιέχεσθαι δὲ πάσας τὰς τῶν πλανωμένων ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀπλανῶν σφαίρας. Τῶν δὲ πλανωμένων ὑψηλοτάτην εἶναι μετὰ τὴν <τῶν> ἀπλανῶν τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου, μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν τοῦ Διὸς, εἴτα τὴν τοῦ Ἄρεος, ἐφεξῆς δὲ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, εἴτα τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὴν τῆς σελήνης, πλησιάζουσιν τῷ ἀέρι); Antiochus, *Fragmenta e Codice Monacensi* 7, vol. 7, p. 127, lines 8- Boll (Ὁ Κρόνος ... καλεῖται δὲ Φαίνων. Ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ... καλεῖται δὲ Φαέθων. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρης ... καλεῖται δὲ Πυρόεις. (...) Ὁ δὲ Ἑρμῆς ... καλεῖται δὲ Στίλβων. Ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη ... καλεῖται δὲ Φωσφόρος); Dorotheus, *Fragmenta alia antiqua*, 3 a (Δωροθέου Σιδωνίου τῶν ἐπὶ ἀστέρων ἐπίθετα. Κρόνος· Φαίνων, ἀγκυλομήτης, βλαβερός, βραδύς, χλευαστής, δυσσαυγής, κρυόεις, βραβευτής, ψυχρός. Ζεὺς· Φαέθων, αἰγίοχος, βασιλείος, εὐφεγγής, πολυφεγγής, Κρονίδης, ὑψιμέδων. Ἄρης· Πυρόεις, ὑπὴνemos, ἐγγέσπαλος, θούρος, κορυθαίολος, βροτολογός, φλογολαμπής, ὄμβριμος. Ἥλιος· Τιτάν, φάων, Ὑπερίων, χρυσαυγής, λαμπής. Ἀφροδίτη· Φωσφόρος, Ἐσπερος, χρυσῆ, λαμπάκτις, ἀφρογένεια, διπρόσωπος, εὐστέφανος, Παφίη, Κυθερία. Ἑρμῆς· Στίλβων, Ἀργεῖφόντης, διάκτωρ, Κυλλήνιος, ὄξύς, πυνυτός, ὠκύς, φαιδρός. Σελήνη· σελασφόρος, Μήνη, διχόζωνος, Τιτανίς, πλησιφαής, διχόμηρος, Ἐκάτη, κερόεσσα, χρυσάμπυξ, Θειαντίς, Ἄρτεμις, τριοδίτης. (3a,1.) Ἐπίθετα ὀνόματα τῶν ζ' ἀστέρων. Ἥλιος· Τιτάν, φάων, ἀκάμας, Ὑπεριονίδης, βασιλεύς, χρυσαυγής. Κρόνος· Φαίνων, ἀγκυλομήτης, βλαβεραυγής, βραδύς, χλευαστής, ψυχρός, δυσσαυγής, κρυόεις, βραβευτής. Σελήνη· πλησιφαής, σελασφόρος, ἐλικανυγής, κερόεσσα, τροχόεσσα, Μήνη, νυκτιμέδουσα, χρυσάμπυξ,

πότνια, νυκταυγής, διχόζωνος, διχομήνη, Θειαντίς, ἀργυρόφεγγος, Ζεύς· ὑψιμέδων, πολύφεγγος, Φαέθων, αἰγίοχος, Κρονίδης, εὐφεγγής. Ἄρης· ἐγχέσπαλος, κορυθαίολος, οὐλαμόεργος, ὀλοφώιος, βροτολογός, πυριμάρμαρος, λοιγολαμπής, ὄβριμος, χαλκεομήτρης, θούρος, Πυρόεις, Ἐνυάλιος, † κρισαιχμής, ὑπήμενος, ῥινοτόρος. Αφροδίτη· Κυθήρεια, Κύπρις, κογχογενής, ζευξίγαμος, Παφίη, νήσου βασίλεια, Διωνάη, λαμπροφάης, οὐρανίη, θαλασσαιή, ἐρασμίη. Ἑρμής· Στίλβων, διάκτορος, Ἑρμείας, σῶκος, ἐριούννης, χελυοξόος; Ps. Clemens Romanus, *Recognitiones* (ex Eusebio), 9, 19, 8 (ὁ τοῦ πυριλαμπέος Ἄρεος ἀστήρ); Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Apotelesmatica*, I, 4, 3, 1 (Ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ); *ibid.*, III, 13, 6bit, 5 (Ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἀστήρ); *ibid.*, III, 14, 20, 1 (Ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἀστήρ); *ibid.*, III, 14, 28, 1 (Ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀστήρ); Albinus, *Epitome doctrinae Platonicae*, 14, 7 (Σελήνην μὲν δὴ τῷ μετὰ γῆν ἐπέθηκε κύκλῳ τῷ πρώτῳ, ἥλιον δὲ εἰς τὸν δεῦτερον ἔταξε, ἐωσφόρον δὲ καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ λεγόμενον ἀστέρα εἰς τὸν ἰσοταχῇ μὲν ἥλιῳ κύκλον ἰόντα, τούτου δὲ ἀφεστῶτα· ὑπερθεν δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ σφαῖραν οἰκεῖαν· τὸν μὲν βραδύτατον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῇ τῶν ἀπλανῶν κείμενον σφαίρᾳ, ὃν Κρόνου τινὲς ἐπονομάζουσιν ἀστέρα, τὸν δὲ βραδυτήτι δεῦτερον μετὰ τούτου Διὸς ἐπώνυμον, ὑφ' ὃν τὸν Ἄρεως); Alexander, *In Aristotelis Topicorum libros octo commentaria*, p. 219, line 1 Wallies (ὁ τῆς Αφροδίτης ἀστήρ); Hephaestio, *Apotelesmatica*, p. 48 Pingree (Ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ); Nonnus, 38, 137 (καὶ μέλος εἰς Ὑμέναιον ἀνέπλεκε Κύπριδος ἀστήρ); Simplicius, *In Cael.*, vol. 7, p. 88, line 12 (Ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου ἀστήρ); Photius, *Bibl.*, codex 249, p. 439 b 17-25 (Ὅτι δώδεκα τάξεις φησὶν εἶναι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πρώτην καὶ ἐξωτάτω τὴν ἀπλανή σφαῖραν, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ὁ τε πρῶτος θεὸς καὶ οἱ νοητοὶ θεοί, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλει δοκεῖ, κατὰ δὲ Πλάτωνα αἱ ιδέαι· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπλανή ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου τέτακται ἀστήρ καὶ οἱ ἐφεξῆς πλάνητες ἔξ, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς φημι, ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως, ὁ τῆς Αφροδίτης, ὁ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου, ὁ τῆς σελήνης, εἴτα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς σφαῖρα, ἐξῆς ἡ τοῦ ἀέρος, μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος, Λοιπὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσιν ἡ γῆ); Symeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 3, 32 (Τὸ τοῦ κόσμου μεσαίτατόν ἐστιν ἡ γῆ καὶ λέγεται κάτω. ἄνωθεν δὲ ταύτης τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτου ἄνωθεν ὁ ἀήρ, τοῦ δὲ ἀέρος τὸ πῦρ, τοῦ δὲ πυρὸς ἄνωθεν ἡ σελήνη, τῆς δὲ σελήνης ἡ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ σφαῖρα, ταύτης δὲ ἡ τῆς Αφροδίτης καὶ ταύτης ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου, εἴτα ἡ τοῦ Ἄρεως, εἴτα ἡ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτην ἡ τοῦ Κρόνου, ὑπὲρ ἣν ἡ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἄστρον σφαῖρα καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτην ἡ ἀναστρὸς σφαῖρα, ἡ τὰς λοιπὰς πάσας κινουσα ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ δύσιν).

¹²² Cf. Zenon of Citium, fr. 120 Arnim, according to Arius Didymus, fr. 33 Diels (*ap. Stob.*, I, 25, 5): Ζ ἡ ν ω ν τὸν ἥλιόν φησι καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον ἕκαστον εἶναι νοερὸν καὶ φρόνιμον, πύρινον <δὲ> πυρὸς τεχνικοῦ. δύο γὰρ γένη πυρός, τὸ μὲν ἄτεχνον καὶ μεταβάλλον εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν τροφήν, τὸ δὲ τεχνικὸν αὐξητικὸν τε καὶ τηρητικόν, οἷον ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ ζώοις, ὃ δὴ φύσις ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχὴ τοιούτου δὴ πυρὸς εἶναι τὴν τῶν ἄστρον οὐσίαν.

¹²³ Achilles Tatius, *Isagoga excerpta*, 13 (ὅτι δὲ οἱ ἀστéρες ζῶια, χρῶνται πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν οἱ Στωϊκοὶ τούτοις· ‘πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πυρώδη [καὶ] κατὰ φύσιν καὶ πολυχρονίως κινεῖται καὶ κυκλικῶς. οὐκοῦν καὶ κρίσιν ἔχει. εἰ δὲ κρίσιν ἔχει, καὶ ζῶιά ἐστιν’).

¹²⁴ Besides the lengthy discussion of Lactantius (*Divinae institutiones*, II, 5; see below, n. 147, b.3), cf. St. Augustine, *CD*, 4, 11: *Dicunt* (stoīci) *omnia sidera partes Jovis esse, et omnia vivere, atque rationales animas habere; et ideo sine controversia deos esse.*

¹²⁵ Tertullian, *Ad nationes*, II, 3 (PL, 1, 662: *quomodo quidam assignant elementis, quae deos volunt, generationem, cum stoici negent quicquam Deo nasci? Item, quomodo volunt, quos de elementis natos ferunt, deos haberi, cum Deum negent nasci? Itaque quod mundi erit, hoc elementis ascribetur, coelo dico et terrae et sideribus et igni, quae deos et deorum parentes adversus negatam generationem Dei et nativatem frustra credi proposuit Varro. Et qui Varro indicaverat animalia esse coelum et astra (...) Et tamen unde animalia Varroni videntur elementa? Quoniam moventur*). Cf. also St. Augustine, *CD*, 7, 6 (*Dicit ergo idem Varro adhuc de naturali theologia prae loquens, deum se arbitrari esse animam mundi, quem Graeci vocant κόσμον, et hunc ipsum mundum esse deum: sed sicut hominem*

sapientem, cum sit ex corpore et animo, tamen ab animo dici sapientem; ita mundum deum dici ab animo, cum sit ex animo et corpore. Hic videtur quoquo modo confiteri unum Deum; sed ut plures etiam introducat, adjungit mundum dividi in duas partes, coelum et terram; et coelum bifariam, in aethera et aera; terram vero in aquam et humum: e quibus summum esse aethera, secundum aera, tertiam aquam, infimam terram: quas omnes partes quatuor animarum esse plenas, in aethere et aere immortalium, in aqua et terra mortalium; ab summo autem circuitu coeli ad circulum lunae aethereas animas esse astra ac stellas, eos coelestes deos non modo intelligi esse, sed etiam videri: inter lunae vero gyrum et nimborum ac ventorum cacumina aereas esse animas, sed eas animo, non oculis videri; et vocari heroas, et lares, et genios. Haec est videlicet breviter in ista praelocutione proposita theologia naturalis, quae non huic tantum, sed multis philosophis placuit: de qua tunc diligentius disserendum est, cum de civili, quantum ad deos selectos attinet, opitulante Deo vero, quod restat implevero). This is not the only trace of Pythagorean thought in Varro; cf., for example, Ferrero, 1955, 291-304 of the 2008 edition.

¹²⁶ Cicero, *De re publica*, VI, 15: *iisque animus datus est ex illis sempiternis ignibus, quae sidera et stellas vocatis, quae globosae et rotundae, divinis animatae mentibus, circulos suos orbesque conficiunt celeritate mirabili.*

¹²⁷ Cf. a couple of important passages of Plato's *Timaeus* in Cicero's translation: 37 (*Ex quo genere ea sunt sidera, quae infixae caelo non moventur loco, quae sunt animantia, eaque divina, ob eamque causam suis sedibus inhaerent et perpetuo manent*); 43 (*Toto igitur omni constituto sideribus parem numerum distribuit animorum et singulos adiunxit ad singula*).

¹²⁸ In the fourth century C. E., Eusebius of Caesarea could write that it was common among all Greeks to believe that the Sun, the Moon, and the other heavenly bodies were visible gods (*PE*, 15, 22, 68: *κοινῶς πάντες Ἕλληνες θεοὺς ὁρατοὺς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας τὰ τε ἄλλα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου ἡγήσαντό τε καὶ ἐσέφθησαν*).

¹²⁹ Vergil, *Aen.*, 6, 724-7: *Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentis / lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra / spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus / mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.*

¹³⁰ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 359 c: οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτων οἱ ἱερεῖς λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ὅσοι μὴ ἀγέννητοι μὴδ' ἀφθαρτοί, τὰ μὲν σώματα παρ' αὐτοῖς κείσθαι καμόντα καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα καὶ καλεῖσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν Ἰσιδος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σῶθιν, Ὡρίωνα δὲ τὴν Ὠροῦ, τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος ἄρκτον.

¹³¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, *PE*, III, 4, 3 (ἡ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπόρρητος θεολογία οὐδὲ ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων, τῶν τε ἀπλανῶν ὀνομαζομένων καὶ τῶν πλανητῶν καλουμένων, ἐθεολόγει δημιουργόν τε τῶν ὅλων εἰσήγεν οὐ τινα νοῦν ἀσώματον οὐδὲ λόγον δημιουργικὸν οὐδὲ μὴν θεὸν οὐδὲ θεοὺς οὐδέ τινας νοεράς καὶ ἀφανεῖς δυνάμεις, μόνον δὲ τὸν ὁρώμενον ἥλιον· διὸ καὶ μόνοις τοῖς ἄστροις τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀνέτιθεσαν αἰτίαν); for the so-called Phoenician theology, cf. Eus. Caes., *PE*, I, 9, 5: *ἔχεις δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Φοινικικῇ θεολογίᾳ, ὥς ἄρα Φοινίκων οἱ πρῶτοι "φυσικοὺς ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ τούτοις συναφῇ θεοὺς μόνους ἐγίνωσκον."*

¹³² Plotinus, II, 9, 18, lines 30-2 (Ἐγγὺς δὲ γενόμενοι τοῦ ἀπλήκτου μμοίμεθ' ἂν τὴν τοῦ σύμπαντος ψυχὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρον); III, 2, 3, lines 25-31 (Οὐ γὰρ δὴ γῆ μὲν κεκόσμηται φυτοῖς τε πάσι καὶ ζώοις παντοδαποῖς καὶ μέχρι θαλάττης ψυχῆς ἦλθε δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὅτι πᾶς καὶ αἰθήρ καὶ οὐρανὸς σύμπας ψυχῆς ἁμοῖρος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ ψυχὰι ἀγαθαὶ πᾶσαι, ἄστροις ζῆν διδοῦσαι καὶ τῇ εὐτάκτῳ οὐρανοῦ καὶ αἰδίῳ περιφορᾷ νοῦ μμήσει κύκλῳ φερομένη ἐμφρόνως περὶ ταῦτόν αἰεῖ); IV, 3, 7, lines 3-5 (Βούλεται δὲ ὁ λόγος οὐ τοῦτο, ὃ τις οἶεται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησίμους αὐτῷ τότε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐμψυχον εἶναι); IV, 4, 22, lines 5-10 (Ζητήσῃ δ' ἂν τις πρότερον, τίς ψυχὴ ἐν τῇ γῇ, πότρεα ἐκ τῆς σφαίρας τοῦ παντός, ἣν καὶ μόνην δοκεῖ ψυχὸν πρῶτως Πλάτων οἶον ἔλλαμψιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἢ πάλιν αὐτὸ λέγων <πρώτην καὶ πρεσβυτάτην θεῶν> τῶν <ἐντός

οὐρανοῦ> καὶ αὐτὴ δίδωσι ψυχὴν οἷαν καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς· πῶς γὰρ ἂν θεὸς εἴη, εἰ μὴ ἐκείνην ἔχοι;); IV, 8, 2, lines 38-42 (Τὰς τε τῶν ἀστέρων ψυχὰς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον πρὸς τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν λέγων, ὥσπερ τὸ πᾶν—ἐντίθησι γὰρ καὶ τούτων τὰ σώματα εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς περιφοράς—ἀποσφύζοι ἂν καὶ τὴν περὶ τούτους πρέπουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν); V, 1, 2, lines 1-4 (Ἐνθυμείσθω τοίνυν πρῶτον ἐκείνο πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ὡς αὐτὴ μὲν ζῶα ἐποίησε πάντα ἐμπνεύσασα αὐτοῖς ζωὴν, ἃ τε γῆ τρέφει ἃ τε θάλασσα ἃ τε ἐν ἀέρι ἃ τε ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστροα θεῖα); V, 1, 2, lines 40-1 (Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἥλιος θεός, ὅτι ἔμψυχος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστροα). The sixth century C. E. Neoplatonist Olympiodorus quoted Plotinus' statement that the heavenly bodies do not lack a soul (*In Grg.*, 48, 5, lines 13-7: καὶ ὁ Πλωτίνος δὲ ἐκ διαίρεσεως ἀναιρεῖ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν λέγων ὅτι 'τὰ ἄστροα ἔμψυχα ἔστιν ἢ ἄψυχα· εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄψυχα, ὅπερ οὐδὲ ἐστίν, πῶς δύναται τι ποιῆσαι ἀψύχως ἐνεργοῦντα;).

¹³³ Ammonius of Alexandria, *In Porphyrii isagogen sive quinque voces*, p. 97, line 15 Busse (ἐν οὐρανίοις σώμασιν, εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὰ ἔμψυχα εἰσι καὶ λογικά).

¹³⁴ Proclus, *In R.*, vol. 2, p. 356, line 28 – p. 357, line 7 Kroll (Ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ θεία ψυχὴ τοῦ παντός ἐστιν, μάθοιμεν ἂν ἐννοήσαντες, ὅπως ταύτην καὶ ἐν <Τιμαίῳ> θεὸν οἶδεν (εἴπερ ἐκάλει τὸν κόσμον <εὐδαίμονα> δι' αὐτὴν <θεόν> [p. 34b]) καὶ <θεῖαν ἀρχὴν> ἀρξασθαι φησιν <ἀπαύστου βίου καὶ ἔμφρονος> [p. 36e], καὶ ἐν <Νόμοις> [X 897b] <νοῦν θεῖον προζλαβοῦσαν> εἶναι βούλεται θεόν, ὅπου καὶ πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς ἀστρον ὥρων στοιχείων); Proclus, *Theol. plat.*, vol. 5, p. 73, lines 3-5 Saffrey-Westerink (ζῶον ἔμψυχον ἐννοῦν αὐτὸς ἀπειργάσατο τὸν ὅλον οὐρανόν); Proclus, *Theol. plat.*, vol. 5, p. 80, lines 16-26 Saffrey-Westerink (Καὶ γὰρ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον <ἔμψυχον καὶ ἔννοον> καὶ <ζῶον ὁ> δημιουργὸς ἀποτελεῖ καὶ τὴν τριπλὴν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴν ὑφίστησι, τὴν μὲν ἀμέριστον καὶ νοεράν, τὴν δὲ μεριστήν καὶ σωματοειδῆ, τὴν δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων, ἀμέριστον ἅμα καὶ μεριστήν, καὶ τῶν οὐρανίων σφαιρῶν ἐκάστην αὐτὸς ἐστίν ὁ ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς συνάπτων περιφοραῖς καὶ τῶν ἀστρον ἐκάστῳ ζωὴν ἐφιστάς ψυχικὴν καὶ νοεράν, καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχείοις θεοῖς ἡγεμόνας παραγαγὼν καὶ ψυχὰς, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἅπασιν καὶ τὰ μεριστὰ τῆς ζωῆς ὑποστήσας γένη καὶ τῶν θνητῶν ζῶων τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῖς νέοις θεοῖς ἐνδιδούς); *In Crat.*, section 152, lines 10-11 Pasquali (οἷον τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀστρον τε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἀνελίξεις τῶν κινήσεων); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 59, lines 17-22 Diehl (Ὅτι μὲν σελήνην καὶ ἥλιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πέντε ἄστροα κατωνόμαζεν ὡς ἔμψυχα καὶ νοερά ζῶα, δεδήλωκεν ἐν τούτοις ἐπενεγκὼν σώματα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστων ποιήσας, ὡς ἐκείνων νοερῶν καὶ ζωτικῶν ὄντων· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε σώματα 'αὐτοῦς' ποιήσας, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 70, lines 8-12 Diehl (καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἐν τῇ θατέρᾳ τοὺς ἐπτὰ κύκλους λαβὼν ἔχει σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς ἐπτὰ ψυχὰς τὰς ταῖς ἐπτὰ σφαῖραις ἐποχουμένας· ἡ γὰρ ἀρτίως παραδεδομένη ψύχωσις οὐ τῶν σφαιρῶν ἦν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀστρον τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἀξίαν ἐν ταῖς σφαῖραις λαχόντων); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 116, line 22 – p. 118, line 18 Diehl (τίθησιν τε εἰς τὴν τοῦ κρατίστου φρόνησιν ἐκείνῳ ξυνεπόμενον, νείμας περὶ πάντα κύκλῳ τὸν οὐρανόν, κόσμον ἀληθινὸν ἐν αὐτῷ πεποικιλμένον εἶναι καθ' ὅλον [40 A]. Περὶ τῆς θέσεως ἐνταῦθα διαλέγεται τῶν ἀστρον, ὅτι τῇ ταύτου περιφορᾷ κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ἐντέθεται καὶ ὅτι περιστέφει τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἡ ποίησιν φησιν, ἄλλων κατ' ἄλλην τάξιν τεταγμένων καὶ ποικιλίαν θαυμαστὴν παρεχομένων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦδε μειζόνως ἐθέλοις λέγειν, ἐντίθησι τὰ ἄστροα τῇ θεῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς, ψυχώσας αὐτὰ δηλαδὴ καὶ δοὺς αὐτοῖς ζωὴν οἰκείαν καὶ νοῦν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ (117.) τὰ πλανώμενα ἐνέτιθαι ταῖς περιφοραῖς, ἃς ἡ θατέρου περιόδους ἤϊεν, ὡς εἴρηται ἐν ἐκείνοις [38 C]· θεία γὰρ ὄντα ζῶα δεῖ καὶ ψυχὴν ἔχειν νοεράν καὶ νοῦν θεῖον· ὅτι γὰρ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ὅλου ψυχῆς ψυχούται μόνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχει τὴν ἐφεστῶσαν ἕκαστον, μάθοιμεν ἂν συννοήσαντες, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ζῶων κρείττονά ἐστιν ὅσα μετὰ τῆς ὅλης καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδίας ψυχούται ψυχῆς <τῆς> ἐλλαμπούσης ζωὴν, οἷον ἄνθρωπος, ἢ ὅσα ὑπὸ τῆς ὅλης μόνης, οἷον τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς δημιουργίας, τὰ μὲν διχόθεν σφζόμενα, τὰ δὲ μόλις ἀπὸ τῆς ὅλης. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀληθές καὶ τὰ οὐράνια κρείσσονα τῶν ἡμετέρων σωμάτων, μειζόνως ἐκείνα

□α□ ψυχούται μετὰ τῆς κοσμικῆς καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδίας ἑκάστα ψυχῆς, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰ ἔοικε τῷ ὅλῳ οὐρανῷ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστι, κυκλοφορητικά ἐστι, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, κύκλῳ πάντα κινεῖται περὶ τὰ κέντρα τὰ ἐαυτῶν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, πᾶσα δὲ κίνησις αἰδῖος ἴδιον ἔχει καὶ τὸ κινεῖν αἴτιον καὶ ὅσα τὰ ἰδίως κινούμενα, τοσαῦτα καὶ τὰ κινήτικα αἷτια, φησὶν Ἀ ρ ι σ τ ο τ ε λ η ς, ἀνάγκη καὶ ψυχὰς εἶναι τοῖς ἄστροις ἰδίας ἐφεστώσας τὰς κινούσας, καὶ εἰ μὲν τεταγμένως κινούσι, νοεράς, εἰ δ', ὃ μὴ θέμις εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ θείων σωμάτων, ἀλόγους· ὧν ὄντως ἀλόγων ὄντων ἑκαστον ἀνάγκη τῶν ἄστρον ἰδίαν ἔχειν ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν θείαν ψυχὴν, καὶ διὰ μὲν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐσῶν ψυχῶν συνάπτεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν, διὰ δὲ τοῦ νοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὅλον ἠγνώσθαι νοῦν· ὅπου γὰρ καὶ τοῖς θνητοῖς μέτεστι λόγου καὶ νοῦ, τί χρὴ περὶ αὐτῶν νομίζειν τῶν θείων σωμάτων; ἐντέθειται οὖν διὰ τῆς ἐαυτῶν ψυχῆς εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς ταύτου φορᾶς, ἣν 'κρατίστην' εἰκότως ἐκάλεσεν ὡς κρατοῦσαν πασῶν τῶν περιφορῶν καὶ πᾶσας αὐτὰς νοερώς συνελίσσουσιν· ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἄστρον γένος περιάγεται ὑπὸ τῆς ὅλης φορᾶς, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ αὐτῶν περιέχονται ὑπὸ τῆς μίας ψυχῆς τῆς ταύτου κυκλήσεως καὶ οἱ νόες ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ· καὶ γὰρ αὐ καὶ δεῖ μετὰ τὴν μονάδα τὴν ἐξηρημένην (118.) εἶναι καὶ τὴν συντεταγμένην μονάδα τῷ πλήθει. μονάδος οὖν ἐξηρημένης οὔσης τῆς πρωτίστης τῶν τεττάρων ιδεῶν τὸ τῶν ἄστρον πλήθος ἀπ' ἐκείνης προῖον ὑπὸ συντεταγμένης περιέχεται μονάδος τῆς ἀπλανοῦς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν οὐρανίων σφαιρῶν ἢ μὲν ὅλη σφαῖρα μονάδος ἔχει λόγον, οἱ δὲ κοσμοκράτορες ἡγεμόνες εἰσὶ τοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην πλήθους· ἔστι γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀριθμὸς ἀνὰ λόγον τῷ τῶν ἄστρον χορῷ συνυφεστῶς ταῖς οἰκείαις περιφοραῖς. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀπλανῶν μία μονὰς ἡ ὁλότης αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πλανωμένων ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἡ ὁλότης, ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων ἑκαστος ἡγεμών, οὐ θαυμαστόν· ὡς γὰρ ποικιλωτέρα τῶν θατέρου περιφορῶν ἢ κίνησις, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἡγεμονοῦντα πλείω· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλήθος μᾶλλον προελήλυθεν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ἔτι πλείους οἱ ἡγεμόνες· αἱ γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ μονάδες ἀριθμοῦς ἀπογεννώσιν ἀνὰ λόγον αὐταῖς. ἀλλ' οὖν, ὅπερ ἐλέγομεν, ἡ ψύχωσις τῶν ἄστρον ἐντίθησι μὲν αὐτὰ ταῖς οἰκείαις ψυχαῖς, συνάπτει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην ψυχὴν τῆς ταύτου φορᾶς; *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 119, lines 17-20 Diehl (Ὁ περὶ τῆς κινήσεως λόγος ἐπόμενός ἐστι τῷ περὶ τῆς ψυχώσεως· διότι γὰρ ἑκαστον τῶν ἄστρον ἐψύχεται, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κίνησιν οἰκείαν ἔλαχεν· ἁ ρ χ ἢ γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ κ ι ν ῆ σ ε ω ς); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 120, lines 19-21 Diehl (ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἄρα τὸ διπλοῦν τῆς κινήσεως ληπτέον, τῆς τε ψυχῆς τῆς ἀστροφῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 121, lines 21-24 Diehl (ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίου φορᾶς λέγοντας τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ ταύτου κύκλου τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς, ὑφ' ἧς κρατούμενη καὶ ἡ ἐκάστου τῶν ἄστρον ψυχὴ καὶ μιμουμένη κινεῖται εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῆς πρόσθεν); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 126, lines 28-31 Diehl (ὅσοι τοίνυν ἢ ἄψυχα τὰ ἄστρα ποιοῦσιν ἢ μεταβάλλειν οἴονται τὰς τῶν οὐρανίων ψυχὰς ὥσπερ τὰς ἡμετέρας ἢ κατὰ χρόνον εἶναι τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῶν, ἀποπίπτουσι τῆς τοῦ Πλάτωνος γνώμης· εἰ γάρ τι ζῶόν ἐστι θεῖον, ψυχὴν ἔχει θείαν καὶ νοῦν θεῖον); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 145, lines 31-2 (ὑπάρχει γὰρ καὶ ταῖς σωματικαῖς τῶν ἄστρον κινήσεσι καὶ ταῖς ψυχικαῖς); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 154, lines 11-6 Diehl (οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀκτῶ σφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ψυχώσεις ἰδίας καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀπλανοῦς κύκλου παντὸς ὡς ἐνὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περιεχομένων ἄστρον καὶ τοῦ πλανωμένου παντὸς ὡς ἐνὸς καὶ τῶν πλανωμένων ἀφήκεν ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους προπαράδοθεῖσαν); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 187, lines 16-24 Diehl (ὁ μὲν οὖν <Θεόδωρος> τὰς ἐν σχέσει ψυχὰς τῶν τριῶν τοῦ κόσμου τμημάτων ἐπὶ τούτους ἀναπέμπει τοὺς θεοὺς, τὸν μὲν Φόρκυν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνάστρῳ σφαίρᾳ τάττων, ὡς κυοῦντα τὴν φορᾶν (ἔδει δὲ αὐτὸν ἡμᾶς πείθειν, ὅτι Πλάτων οἶδε τίνα σφαῖραν ἄναστρῳ, εἶθ' οὕτω τάττειν ἐπὶ ταύτης τὸν Φόρκυν), τὸν δὲ Κρόνον ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄστρον φοραῖς, διότι χρόνος ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ γενέσεις καὶ φθοραὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, 'Ρέαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑλικῷ, διότι τῷ ὑλικῷ πλεονάζει τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 233, lines 4-6 Diehl (τὴν δὲ δὴ 'σπορὰν' τίνα ῥητέον; ἄρα ταύτην, ἣν <οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν> διαθρουλοῦσι, τὴν περὶ τὰ ἄστρα τῶν ψυχῶν διανομήν;); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 234, lines 1-3 Diehl (ἄμφω γοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ γεννᾶται καθ' ὁμοιότητα τῶν ἄστρον, ὧν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ ὀχήματα παρήγαγεν ὁ δημιουργός); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 255, lines 10-6 Diehl (ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις ἰδίας δίδωσι ψυχὰς καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην θεοῖς, δῆλον μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν <Νόμοις> [X 898 DE] εἰρημένων (καὶ γὰρ φησιν ἐν ἐκείνοις ψυχὴν μὲν οὐχ ὀρώμεν, σῶμα δὲ ὀρώμεν, καὶ

ζητεί, πῶς ἡ ψυχὴ αὕτη τὸ σῶμα κινεῖ), δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα προειρημένων· ζῶα γὰρ θεῖα καλεῖται τὰ ἄστρα); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 260, lines 24-6 Diehl (νὺν δέ (οὐπω γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐγκοσμίους πεποίηκε) μερίζει περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἀστράφους· τὰ γὰρ ἄστρα τὰς ψυχὰς δηλοῖ τῶν ἀστράφων σωμάτων); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 264, line 19 – p. 265, line 7 Diehl (ἐπειδὴ <δὲ> εἰρηνται περὶ τὰ ἄστρα νενεμήσθαι αἱ μερικαὶ ψυχαί, δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι τετάρτην ἔχουσι τάξιν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ παντός· ὑπ' ἐκείνην γὰρ αἱ τῶν σφαιρῶν εἰσι ψυχαὶ τῶν τε ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην ὅλα τὰ στοιχεῖα περιεχουσών, ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἄστρα καὶ ὅσα μερικώτερα γένη τῶν θεῶν περιέχεται ἐν ταῖς ὁλότησι τῶν εἰρημένων πασῶν περιφορῶν, ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα λοιπὸν αἱ μερικαὶ ψυχαί, τῆς μὲν τοῦ παντός καθολικῆς μόνως οὐσης, τῶν δὲ τὰς περιφορὰς κατανειμαμένων καθολικῶν μερικῶν, τῶν δὲ ἐν ταύταις περιεχομένων ἔμπαλιν μερικῶν καθολικῶν οὐσῶν, τῶν δὲ μερικῶν ψυχῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ μόνως μερικῶν λοιπὸν ὑπαρχουσών. πάσας οὖν ἄστρα προσεῖπε τὰς θείας ψυχὰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς ὁλότησι περιεχομένας εἴτε κατ' οὐρανὸν εἴθ' ὑπὸ σελήνην, ἀπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων πᾶσι τὸ ὄνομα κοινὸν (265.) πάσαις ποιήσας· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔχουσι πάντως ἀστροειδῆ τινα ὀχήματα, ὅπου γε καὶ τὰς μερικὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὴν γένεσιν ὁ Σωκράτης [rep. X 621 B] ἄττοῦσας κατὰ τὰ ὀχήματα ἀστέρων ἀπέκασε διαττόντων τινῶν ιδέαις, ὅπου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ [42 D] καὶ περὶ γῆν καὶ περὶ σελήνην ἐσπάρθαι παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τινας· καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπον, εἰ περὶ μόνον διανενέμηνται τὰ ιδίως καλούμενα ἄστρα μερικαὶ ψυχαί); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 265, lines 24-5 Diehl (ποῦ γὰρ τῆς μερικῆς ὀχημα ψυχῆς τὸ ἄστρον); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 266, lines 7-8 Diehl (τοῖς δὲ ἄστροις συνδιηρησθαι τὰς ψυχὰς ὡς ψυχὰς ἀσωμάτων); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 291, lines 7-12 Diehl (ὑπέστησε γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς δημιουργικῆς καὶ τῆς ζωογονικῆς αἰτίας, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπογέννησιν ὑπέταξεν ἄλλας ἄλλαις ψυχαῖς θεαῖς, ὑπερκόσμιον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πρόοδον καὶ τὴν διανομὴν ποιησάμενος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύταις εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ πᾶν, ὄχημα δούς, καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄστρα διέσπειρεν); *In Tim.*, vol. III, p. 305, lines 26-8 Diehl (δεύτερον δὲ τὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σελήνην καθ' ἕκαστον στοιχεῖον ψυχῶν γεγενῆαι σπορὰν καὶ ἐν ταῖς οὐρανίαις σφαίραις καὶ τοῖς ἄστροις); *In Alc. I*, 113, lines 9-10 (καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν τὰς μὲν τῆς ἡλιακῆς εἶναι σφαίρας, τὰς δὲ τῆς Ἑρμαϊκῆς, τὰς δὲ τῆς σεληνιακῆς).

¹³⁵ Hermias, *In Phdr.*, p. 87, lines 13-6 Couvreur (ἡ μὲν ψυχὴ ἐμφορουμένη αὐτὴ ἐνεργεῖ περὶ τὸ θεῖον, διὸ ἀποκάμνει ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐνεργουσα (ἡ γὰρ ἂν ἦν θεὸς καὶ ὁμοία ταῖς τῶν ἄστρον ψυχαῖς, εἰ μὴ ἀπέκαμνε)); *ibid.*, p. 131, line 30 – p. 132, line 10 Couvreur (καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τε προστίθησι· δεσμοῖς γὰρ, φησὶν, ἀλύτοις δεθόντα ζῶα ἐγενήθη. Καὶ τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ ζῶα, ὅπου γε καὶ θεοὺς αὐτὰ βούλεται εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου λέγει «εὐδαίμονα θεὸν ἐγεννήσατο» καὶ «θεοὶ θεῶν» λέγει ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ αἰδίου ἐχόντων ἐξηρημένον τὸ σῶμα; Φαμὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐνταῦθα τὴν διάστροφον ἐκδοχὴν ἐπυραπίζει· βούλεται γὰρ εὐτροχα ὄντα τὰ ὀχήματα αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ἐξηρημένα σώματα αὐτὰ δι' ἐπιτηδειότητα προσεληλυθέναι ταῖς ἀστράφαις ψυχαῖς ἐξ αἰδίου καὶ ἔχεσθαι αὐτῶν, οὐχὶ τὴν ἀστράφον ψυχὴν προσεληλυθέναι τῷ σώματι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι ἑαυτὴν ὥσπερ τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ζῆου); *ibid.*, p. 171, line 34 – p. 172, line 4 (Λέγοι δ' ἂν <θεὸν> ἢ τὸν κατὰ σχέσιν φιλόσοφον ἢ τὸν ἐγκόσμιον, οἷον τὰς ἀστράφας ψυχὰς, ἴν' οὕτως ἔχη ὁ λόγος «πρὸς οἷς νοητοῖς ὦν τῇ μνήμῃ <κατὰ δύναμιν ὁ> φιλόσοφος ὦν κατὰ σχέσιν θεὸς θεῖος γίνεται διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν νοητῶν ἔλλαμψιν).

¹³⁶ Syrianus, *In Metaph.*, p. 24, lines 6-7 Kroll (εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἄστρον ἀληθέστερον οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥλιον τῶν φαινομένων).

¹³⁷ a) The Church Fathers had generally rejected that the heavens or that the heavenly spheres or bodies could have a soul, as we can see in St. Basil of Caesarea (*Homiliae in Hexaemeron*, 3, 9: Οὐτε γὰρ οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἔμψυχοι); cf. also his *Homiliae super Psalmos* (PG, 29, 440, lines 40-2: τί οἱ λοιποὶ ἀστέρες; ἄψυχα μὲν καὶ ὑλικά, διαφανῆ δὲ μόνον τὰ σώματα κεκτημένοι, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ διάνοια), and in the *Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* that has been attributed to St. Basil of Caesarea, 13, 271, lines 18-22 (Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ θυμοῦσθαι ἰδίον ἐστὶ τῶν λογικῶν καὶ ἐμψύχων, ἥδη τινὲς ἐφαντάσθησαν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔμψυχον εἶναι καὶ λόγῳ κεχρησθαι, ὡς δύνασθαι καὶ

εἰς ἀγανάκτησιν τῷ Δεσπότη συνδιαναστήναι. Ἔστι δὲ μυθικὸν ἀνάπλασμα τὸ τοιοῦτον). In the fourth century C. E. *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 8, 46, lines 6-10, heavenly bodies are included in an enumeration of inanimated beings (Εἰ γὰρ τὰ ἄψυχα γενόμενα τὴν εὐταξίαν ἀποσφύζει, οἶον νύξ, ἡμέρα, ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἄστρα, στοιχεῖα, τροπαί, μήνες, ἐβδομάδες, ἡμέραι, ὥραι); cf. also St. John Chrysostomus, *In Joannem* (*homiliae* 1-88), PG, 59, 352, lines 32-3 (Περὶ οὐρανοῦ πάλιν οἱ μὲν εἶπον, ὅτι ἔμψυχος καὶ θεός· οἱ δὲ ἀλειτουργοὶ, ὅτι ἔργον Θεοῦ καὶ τέχνημα); Julianus, *Commentarius in Job*, p. 260, line 18 (οἱ τε ἀστέρες εἰσὶν ἄψυχοι καὶ αἰσθήσεως ἄμοιροι); Theodoretus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG, 80, 1980, lines 37-9 (Οὐ γὰρ ὀνόμασι κεκρημένος ὁ τῶν ὄλων Θεὸς τοὺς ἀστέρας καλεῖ· ἄψυχα γὰρ ταῦτα); *eiusd.*, *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, p. 258, lines 9-11 Fernández Marcos-Sáenz Badillos (Διὰ τί τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν διαμαρτύρασθαι προσέταξεν; Οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ἔμψυχα ταῦτα καὶ λογικά, ἀλλ' ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν κτισμάτων περιεκτικά); Cyrillus of Alexandria, *Contra Julianum*, 2, 36, lines 5-9 (Ὅτι γὰρ οὔτε ζῶν ἐστιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἡγουν ὁ κόσμος ἀπλῶς, οὔτε μὴν ἔμψυχος ὅλως, κἂν εἰ μὴ τις ἔλοιτο λέγειν τῶν τελούντων ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀποχρὴ πρὸς ἑλεγχον καὶ δίχα τῶν ἄλλων οὕς φασιν εἶναι 'σοφοὺς' ὁ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος φοιτητῆς Ἀριστοτέλης).

b) During the Byzantine period, cf. *Acta Synodi Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae anno 536*, vol. 3, p. 203, lines 14-6 Schwartz, and Justinianus, *Edictum contra Origenem*, p. 96, lines 14-6 Amelotti-Zingale (Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν Ὠριγένους παρίστησιν ἄνοιαν, τὸ λέγειν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ἐπάνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμψυχα καὶ λογικάς τινας εἶναι δυνάμεις [cf. Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 8, 3 b-4 a: Ἀνεγνώσθη Ὠριγένους τὸ περὶ ἀρχῶν ... Λέγει δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παραλογώτατα καὶ δυσσεβείας πλήρη μετεμψυχώσεις τε γὰρ ληρωθεῖ, καὶ ἐμψύχους τοὺς ἀστέρας]); *Acta Synodi Constantinopolitanae et Hierosolymitanae anno 536*, vol. 3, p. 213, lines 27-8 Schwartz, and Justinianus, *Edictum contra Origenem*, p. 116, lines 27-8 Amelotti-Zingale (Εἴ τις λέγει <ἢ ἔχει> οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ ὕδατα τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐμψύχους καὶ λογικάς εἶναι τινας δυνάμεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω); Ps. Caesarius, *Quaestiones et responsiones* (index, 111: Πῶς ἄψυχα ὄντα ἥλιος, σελήνη, ἄστρα, ὄρη, βουνοὶ εὐλογεῖ καὶ αἰνεῖ τὸν κύριον); Joannes Philoponus, *De opificio mundi*, p. 28, l. 20-3 Reichardt (Εἰπάτωσαν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ τῆς Θεοδώρου δόξης προεστῶτες ἐκ ποίας ἐδιδάχθησαν θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς, ὅτι σελήνην καὶ ἥλιον καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων ἕκαστον ἄγγελοι κινοῦσιν), and his lengthier discussion on pp. 231-4 Reichardt; Ps. Elias and Ps. David, *In Porphyrii isagogen commentarium*, 34, p. 88, lines 31-3 Westerink (τοῦτο μὲν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀμφιβάλλεται περὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, εἴτε ἔμψυχός ἐστιν εἴτε ἄψυχος, τὸ δὲ ἄπορον τὸ αὐτὸ μένει); Sophronius, *Narratio miraculorum sanctorum Cyri et Joannis*, 28, 19 (ἀψύχων ὁμοῦ καὶ λόγου χηρευόντων ἀστέρων); St. John Damascenus, *Expositio fidei*, 20, ll. 83-4 (Μηδεὶς δὲ ἐμψυχωμένους τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἢ τοὺς φωστῆρας ὑπολαμβάνετω); Anastasius of Sinai, *In Hexaemeron anagogicae contemplationes*, IV, 9, 6, lines 876-7 Baggarly-Kuehn (Ὅθεν τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ κινεῖσθαι καὶ τρέχειν ὥσπερ τινὰς ἐμψύχους, ὄντας ἀψύχους); Stephanus Philosophus, *De arte mathematica*, vol. 2, sect. 6, lines 4-6 Cumont (ὅταν οὖν ἀκούης τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ πλανήτων καὶ τὰς γεγραμμένας περὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, μὴ νόμισον ὅτι ἔμψυχά ἐστιν); *Vita Barlaam et Ioasaph*, p. 84, lines 17-21 Mattingly-Woodward (λατρεύοντες τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν Κτίσαντα, οἱ μὲν τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τῇ σελήνῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἃ ἔθετο ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τὸ φαῦσιν παρέχειν τῷ περιγίῳ τούτῳ κόσμῳ, ἄψυχά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀναίσθητα); *Suda*, o, 375 (οὐ γὰρ ὀνόμασι κεκρημένος ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀστέρας καλεῖ· ἄψυχα γὰρ ταῦτα); Eustathius, *Ad Il.*, vol. 1, p. 61, lines 29-30 Van der Valk (τοῦτο δὲ οὕτω πλάττει ὁ ποιητὴς ἢ διότι ἐμψύχους οἱ ἀρχαῖοι σοφοὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐνόμιζον); Iohannes Diaconus Galenus, *Allegoriae in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, p. 330, lines 2-8 Flach (σὺ δ', ὦ τέκνον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χαίρειν ἔα ἄστρα καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς ἡμᾶς δι᾿ κνέισθαι οἶον ἀποφορᾶν, εἴτε πλάνητες εἶεν εἴτ' ἀπλανεῖς, μόνον δὲ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην τοὺς δύο τούτους φωστῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους φυσικῶς τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα ἀποτελεῖν πάθη δόξαζε, καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐργάτας εἶναι καὶ καιρῶν καὶ χρόνων, οὐκ ἐμψύχους ὄντας); Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth century C. E.), *Adnotationes in Aristotelis opera diversa*, 2 (*In libros de*

caelo), 2, lines 231-2 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (δήλον ὡς οὔτε ἔμψυχον εἴτουν αὐτοκίνητον φέρεται τὰ ἄστροα φοράν); *eiusd.*, *Tractatus de processu Spiritus Sancti III*, p. 484, lines 1-9 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (Ὡσαύτως καὶ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων σωμάτων Ἱερώνυμόν τε καὶ Αὐγουστίνον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπειληφότας εὐρών, ἔμψυχα γὰρ αὐτὰ πεφρονήκεσαν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὃ γε Ἱερώνυμος, τῇ τοῦ Βασιλείου καὶ Δαμασκηνοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων τίθεται δόξη μᾶλλον, εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας ταῦτα δόξαν εἶναι. Οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτόν, ὅτι παρὰ τῆς πέμπτης συνόδου καὶ ἡ προῦπαρξις τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ τὸ ἔμψυχα τὰ οὐράνια σώματα εἶναι, καὶ αἱ ιδέαι, καὶ τὰ Ὠριγένους ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ψευδῆ δόγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν Μανιχαίων καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀναθέματι καθυπεβλήθησαν); cf. *eiusd.* *De verbis patrum Latinorum de processu Spiritus Sancti*, p. 54, lines 20-3 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (Καὶ Ἱερώνυμος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔμψυχά φησι τὰ οὐράνια σώματα. Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς Ὠριγένους καὶ Μανιχαίων δόξαι καὶ Πλάτωνος ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ἀπεβουκολήθησαν ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ συνόδῳ, ἡ δὲ σύνοδος μετὰ τοὺς ἀγίους τούτους πολὺ γέγονε. Διὸ καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τῶν Λατίνων διδάσκαλος, ἔνθα ἂν εὗροι Αὐγουστίνον τὸν μακάριον καὶ Ἱερώνυμον διαφωνοῦντας τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας δόγματι, Βασίλειον καὶ Δαμασκηνὸν καὶ Γρηγόριον τὸν μέγαν, τοὺς ἡμετέρους, προίσταται, καὶ τούτοις μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖ, πάνυ καλῶς ποιῶν) and *Epistulae contra unionem Florentinam*, 2, p. 140, lines 27-8 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ἔμψυχα τὰ οὐράνια σώματα φρονῶν εὐρηται); *eiusd.*, *Tractatus de uno deo*, p. 183, lines 11-12 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (οὐρανὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ οὐράνια σώματα οὐκ ἄνευ ὕλης ἐστί, καὶ σώματα μόνον εἰσὶν ἄνευ ψυχῶν); Damascenus Studites, *Thesaurus*, 10, lines 22-3 (ἄψυχα δὲ εἶναι ὁ οὐρανὸς, ὁ ἥλιος, ἡ σελήνη καὶ οἱ ἀστέρες).

¹³⁸ A. On the traditional and archaic character of the belief that the heavenly bodies are animated and divine, cf. Simpl. *De caelo*, p. 370, line 17 – p. 371, line 1 Heiberg (Λέγει οὖν νῦν, ὅτι καλῶς ἔχει καὶ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσι λοιπὸν θαρροῦντα συμπεῖθαι ἐαυτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀρχαίου λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων μάλιστα τοὺς περὶ θεῶν ὑπὸ πατέρων τοῖς ἐγγόνους παραδεδομένους ἀληθεῖς εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἀρχαῖοι λόγοι καὶ πάτριοι εἰσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ ὑπὸ πατέρων καὶ πατρίδων παραδιδόμενοι, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸ θεῖον σέβας καὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν εἰσὶ μάλιστα, διότι πάντες τούτων μετέχοντες ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἀπὸ θεῶν παραδεδομένα ἀκίνητα διαφυλάττειν σπουδάζουσι. τούτων δὲ ἐστὶ τῶν δοξῶν τὸ τὰ οὐράνια πάντα σώματα κίνησιν ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν ἔχοντα φυσικὰ τε εἶναι καὶ ἔμψυχα καὶ θεῖα καὶ ἀνέκλειπτον ἔχοντα τὴν κίνησιν, ὥστε μὴ θέν εἶναι πέρας αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς ἀθάνατα τοῖς θεοῖς προσήκειν· τούτοις οὖν, φησί, καὶ ὁ μετὰ τῶν ἀποδείξεων λόγος μεμαρτύρηκεν ἀγένητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον δεῖξας τὸν οὐρανόν.

Ὅτι δὲ συμφυές ἐστὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαῖς τὰ οὐράνια θεῖα νομίζειν, δηλοῦσι μάλιστα οἱ ὑπὸ προλήψεων ἀθέων πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια διαβλεπόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν οὐρανὸν οἰκητήριον εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θρόνον αὐτοῦ λέγουσι καὶ μόνον ἱκανὸν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν καὶ (371.) ὑπεροχὴν τοῖς ἀξίοις ἀποκαλύπτειν· ὦν τί ἂν εἴη σεμνότερον;);

B. For Aristotle's views, according to Simplicius, cf. *In Cael.*, p. 78, lines 24-8 Heiberg (καίτοι, φησί, καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων “ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχος,” φησί, “καὶ ἔχει κινήσεως ἀρχήν,” καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀστέρων δὲ μὴ ὡς περὶ σωμάτων μόνον καὶ μονάδων τάξιν μὲν ἐχόντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πάμπαν, διανοεῖσθαι, δεῖν δὲ ὡς μετεχόντων ὑπολαμβάνειν πρᾶξεως καὶ ζωῆς); *ibid.*, p. 79, lines 21-2 Heiberg (τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ φυσικὴν τὴν κύκλω κίνησιν καὶ ἔμψυχον τὸν οὐρανὸν λέγοντος); *ibid.*, p. 91, lines 4-7 Heiberg (καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην σύνθετον εἶναι τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς λέγοντα, ὅτι πᾶν ἔμψυχον σῶμα σύνθετον ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων ἐστί, ἐνταῦθα δέ, ὅτι ἔμψυχος ὁ οὐρανός ἐστι, σαφῶς εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ βιβλίῳ); *ibid.*, p. 199, lines 27-35 Heiberg (ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι προστέθεικεν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ φυσικῶς τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα τὴν κύκλω φορὰν κινεῖται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ψυχῆς, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ζώων, ἢ ὑπὸ ἄλλης τινὸς ὑπερτέρας δυνάμεως, οὐδὲ ὅτι γενητὸς οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀγένητὸς ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ τῆς κινήσεως αὐτοῦ δυνατόν συλλογίσασθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην μαρτύρεται ἐν τῷ ὁγδῶφ τῆς Φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως ἐξ ὑπερτέρας αἰτίας λέγοντα κινεῖσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν, δηλὸς ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐννοῶν, ὅτι δυνατόν τὴν αὐτὴν κίνησιν ἀπὸ

διαφόρων αιτιών ἐπιτελείσθαι καὶ ἄλλως μὲν ὑπὸ φύσεως κυκλοφορεῖσθαι τὸ οὐράνιον ὡς σῶμα φυσικόν, ἄλλως δὲ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ὡς ἔμψυχον καὶ ὑπὸ νοῦ πάλιν ὡς ἔννοον); *ibid.*, p. 378, lines 10-6 (εἰ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης αὐτὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν αἰδίων ὄντα ἔμψυχον εἶναι βούλεται σαφῶς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ λέγων “ὁ δὲ οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχος καὶ ἔχει κινήσεως ἀρχὴν” καὶ προελθὼν πάλιν φησὶν “ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ὡς περὶ σωμάτων μόνον αὐτῶν καὶ μονάδων τάξιν μὲν ἔχόντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πάμπαν διανοούμεθα, δεῖ δὲ ὡς μετεχόντων αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν πρᾶξεως καὶ ζωῆς”); *ibid.*, p. 378, lines 29-32 (ὅτι δὲ οὐχ ὡς ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖσθαι λέγοντι τὸν οὐρανὸν μέμφεται ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης τῷ Πλάτῳ, δηλόν, εἴπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμψυχον λέγει τὸν οὐρανὸν ἔχοντα κινήσεως ἀρχὴν ἐν αὐτῷ, δηλονότι τὴν ψυχὴν); *ibid.*, p. 380, lines 20-8 Heiberg (Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν μηδὲν εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ῥητέον, ὅτι, εἰ τῆς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κινήσεως ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ οὐρανῷ αἰτία, δηλόν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κινουμένη καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐπὶ τοῦτο συμπεριάγουσα. αἱ οὖν τῶν πλανᾶσθαι λεγομένων σφαιρῶν ψυχαὶ τίνα κίνησιν αὐτὰς κινούσι; τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῇ ἀπλανεῖ συγκινούνται, εἰ δὲ τὴν ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ τὴν οἰκείαν, ἡ ἀπορία μένει ζητούσα, ποίαν μὲν ἡ φύσις κινεῖ κίνησιν, ποίαν δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ εἰ τὴν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κίνησιν τὴν ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν τὴν τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ἡ ψυχὴ κινεῖ, ποίαν κίνησιν ἡ φύσις ἐκείνην κινήσει); *ibid.*, p. 382, lines 9-19 Heiberg (εἴ τις ἔροιτο, τίνα μὲν τοπικὴν κίνησιν ἡ φύσις, τίνα δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸν οὐρανὸν κινεῖ, ἐροῦμεν, ὅτι ἡ ψυχὴ διὰ μέσης τῆς φύσεως κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ποιεῖ μᾶς μὲν οὔσης καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς κινήσεως, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ἐχούσης τὴν αὐτοφυᾶ καὶ ἀβίαστον καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος ἐπιτηδεϊότητα πρὸς τὸ κινεῖσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν μεταβατικὴν ἐνεργεῖαν, πρὸς ἣν ἐπεφύκει διὰ τὴν φύσιν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τὸ αἰεὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ περιφέρεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ νοῦ χορηγούμενων ἡ ψυχικὴ κίνησις ἡ διὰ τῆς φύσεως ἐνδιδομένη τῷ σώματι συναιρεῖται τε καὶ εἰς ὁμοιότητα τῆς νοεράς ἐνεργείας ἀποκαθίσταται. διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐκείνος ἐρωτήσας, διότι κύκλῳ κινεῖται ὁ οὐρανός, ὅτι νοῦν μμεῖται, φησὶν); *ibid.*, p. 387, lines 12-19 Heiberg (εἴ τις ζητεῖ, πῶς μὲν ἡ φύσις κινεῖ τὸν οὐρανόν, πῶς δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ, οὐ ῥητέον, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι ταυτὸν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ φύσις καὶ ψυχὴ· πῶς γὰρ ἂν εἴη ταυτὸν, εἴπερ ἡ μὲν φύσις δύναμις παθητικὴ τοῦ κινεῖσθαι ἐστὶν ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ οὐσα τῷ κινουμένῳ, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ τὸ ἔξωθεν κινεῖν; οὐκ ἄρα ταυτὸν ῥητέον ψυχὴν καὶ φύσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τὴν αὐτὴν μέντοι κίνησιν κατ’ ἄμφω κινεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς κινουσαν ἔξωθεν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν φύσιν ὡς ἀρχὴν τοῦ κινεῖσθαι ἐνυπάρχουσιν); *ibid.*, p. 387, line 31 (ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχός ἐστι); *ibid.*, p. 388, lines 16-25 (Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τινες τῶν ἑμοὶ προσκυνητῶν φιλοσόφων ἔμψυχον οὕτω λέγεσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους οἰοῦνται ὡς ἔχοντα ζῶν σύμφυτον τῷ σώματι, καθ’ ἣν ἔχει τὴν τῆς κινήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς λογικὴν ἔχοντα ψυχὴν, ἀξιῶ αὐτοὺς πρῶτον μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην ἄλλα μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα ἄλλα δὲ τὰ φυσικὰ λέγοντα, ἔπειτα τὸ ἔμψυχον τοῦτο ἀπ’ ἐκείνων κρίνειν τῶν λόγων, ἐν οἷς φησιν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ βιβλίῳ περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων “ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς ὡς περὶ σωμάτων μόνον αὐτῶν καὶ μονάδων διανοούμεθα τάξιν μὲν ἔχόντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πάμπαν· δεῖ δὲ ὡς μετεχόντων ὑπολαμβάνειν πρᾶξεως καὶ ζωῆς”· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶπτειν λογικῆς ψυχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ κατ’ αὐτόν); *ibid.*, p. 456, lines 1-3 Heiberg (εἰ δέ, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς λέγει, καὶ πρᾶξεως καὶ ζωῆς, ἔμψυχα δηλονότι, ὅλα μετέχει τὰ οὐράνια, πῶς ἂν ἀκίνητα εἴη καθ’ αὐτὰ τὰ ἄστρα.); *ibid.*, p. 472, lines 21-4 Heiberg (ἔστω γὰρ μήτε βία μήτε παρὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκουσίως κινεῖσθαι τὰς ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων κινήσεις· ἄρα οὐκ ἔδει πάντως καὶ οἰκείας ἔχειν κινήσεις κατὰ φύσιν τὰς σφαιρᾶς ἐμψύχους οὐσας καὶ πρᾶξεως μετεχούσας, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ); *ibid.*, p. 509, lines 27-8 Heiberg (ἀλλὰ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἐνίστασθαι ἀνάγκη τοὺς νομίζοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρους ἐμψύχους ὄντας ἔχειν ἰδίαν κίνησιν); *ibid.*, p. 552, lines 7-11 Heiberg (τὰ δὲ ἐφεξῆς κατὰ κοινού περὶ πάντων ἀκουστέον τοῦ τε πρῶτου οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄστρον· καὶ γὰρ <ἐκ τίνων συνεστάσιν>, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς πέμπτης οὐσίας, καὶ <ποῖα ἅττα τὴν φύσιν>, ὅτι οὐκ ἄψυχα σώματα, ἀλλ’ ἐψυχωμένα καὶ νοῦ καὶ πρᾶξεως μέτοχα); *In Ph.*, vol. 9, p. 421, lines 6-11 Diels (καὶ ὅτι μὲν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖται καὶ τὰ οὐράνια πάντα προσεχῶς, ὁμολογεῖ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης σαφῶς ἔμψυχα λέγων αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς Περὶ οὐρανοῦ, ἐν οἷς ἀπορήσας τινὰ περὶ τῶν ἄστρον

βαθέως μέλλων λύειν τὴν ἀπορίαν “ἡμεῖς, φησὶν, ὡς περὶ σωμάτων αὐτῶν καὶ μονάδων τάξιν μὲν ἔχοντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πάμπαν διανοούμεθα· δεῖ δὲ ὡς μετεχόντων ὑπολαμβάνειν πράξεως καὶ ζωῆς”); *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 1218, line 36 – p. 1219, line 2 Diels (τί δὲ τὸ λεγόμενόν ἐστι τὸ μὴ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀψύχων σωμάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κίνησιν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ ψυχὴν κινουμένων, εισόμμεθα σαφέστερον ὑπομνησθέντες τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔχει περὶ τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψυχῆς· τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν οἶεται ψυχὴν εἶναι καὶ φύσιν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ); *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 1261, lines 30-1 (καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλέξανδρος τὰς ἐν ταῖς πλανωμέναις σφαίραις ψυχὰς κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς κινεῖσθαι φησιν); *In De an.*, p. 48, lines 9-11 Hayduck (ὅτι δὲ οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψυχῇ ὑπάρχει κίνησις, πρότερον μὲν κατὰ κοινὸν λόγον ἐπιδέδειχεν ἐπὶ πάσης ψυχῆς, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ιδίως); *In De an.*, p. 320, lines 17-22 Hayduck (διὸ καθόλου λοιπὸν συμπεραίνεται, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔχει ψυχὴν σῶμα <μὴ μόνιμον> ἄνευ αἰσθήσεως, ἔνθα τὸ <μὴ μόνιμον> πρόσκειται διὰ τὰ φυτὰ, ἃ ἔχει μὲν ψυχὴν ἄνευ δὲ αἰσθήσεως, ἢ καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄστρα, ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται, ἔμψυχα μὲν ὄντα, μόνιμα δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐρριζωμένα ταῖς οἰκείαις σφαίραις μὴ καθ’ αὐτὰ κινεῖσθαι, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνου λόγος).

¹³⁹ A. For Plato’s doctrines about the soul of heavens and heavenly bodies, according to Joannes Philoponus, cf. *De aeternitate mundi*, p. 124, lines 1-5 Rabe (Ὅτι οὐ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν γένεσιν ἐν Τιμαίῳ Πλάτων κατηγορήσεν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσιν καὶ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν, ἣν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνούσης ψυχῆς ἔχουσι τὰ οὐράνια σώματα, διὰ τῆς ψυχογονίας ἐδίδαξεν); *ibid.*, p. 196, lines 19-25 Rabe (ὅτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς ψυχογονίας ἐν Τιμαίῳ λεγόμενα οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὴν τῶν οὐρανίων κίνησιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα σχέσιν αὐτῶν παραδίδωσιν, ἣν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς, εἴπερ ἔμψυχα εἰσιν, ὡς Πλάτωνι δοκεῖ, ἀνελήφασιν, ἔξεστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τοῦ Τιμαίου πιστώσασθαι λέξεων); *ibid.*, p. 272, lines 4-6 Rabe (σῶμα δὲ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ κόσμος οὐκ αὐτοκίνητος ὢν ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτοκινήτου κινούμενος); *ibid.*, p. 479, lines 16-20 Rabe (Ὅτι ὡς ζῶν τὴν κύκλῳ κίνησιν κινεῖσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ Πλάτων βούλεται οὐκ ὑπὸ φύσεως ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς κινήσεως γινομένης); *ibid.*, p. 486, lines 13-4 Rabe (καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν δὲ ὁ Πλάτων ἔμψυχον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖσθαι βούλεται); *ibid.*, p. 487, lines 3-4 Rabe (τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἰ καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σώματος ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖται); *ibid.*, p. 487, line 17 – p. 488, line 23 Rabe (ἐνδέχεται ἄρα Πλάτωνα καὶ κύκλῳ λέγειν κατὰ φύσιν κινεῖσθαι τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα ὡς ἔμψυχον καὶ τῆς τῶν κοινῶν στοιχείων αὐτὸ φύσεως ὑποτίθεσθαι. ἔτι εἰ πᾶν ζῶν τοπικὴν τινα κίνησιν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖται (τό τε γὰρ ἵπτασθαι τοῖς πτηνοῖς ὑπὸ ψυχῆς γίνεται καὶ τοῖς ἐνύδροις τὸ νήχεσθαι καὶ τοῖς χερσαίοις τό τε ἔρπειν καὶ τὸ διὰ σκελῶν κινεῖσθαι), ζῶν δὲ εἶναι τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ Πλάτων λέγει, δηλονότι καὶ τοπικὴν αὐτῷ κίνησιν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς γίνεσθαι συγχωρήσει· πᾶν γὰρ ζῶν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς τοπικὴν τινα κινεῖται κίνησιν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ζῶν ἐστερημένον ταύτης. οὐδεμίαν δὲ ἄλλην τοπικὴν κινεῖται· p. 488 ται κίνησιν ὁ οὐρανὸς ἢ τὴν κύκλῳ· οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ ψυχῆς ταύτην κατὰ Πλάτωνα κινήσεται. εἰ δὲ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κύκλῳ κινεῖται, ἐτέρα δὲ ἔστιν ἢ ὑπὸ ψυχῆς τῶν ζῶντων γινομένη κίνησις παρὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐμφύτου ῥοπῆς ὡς ἀψύχοις τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ἐνδιδόμενῃ, οὐκ ἄρα φυσικὴν εἶναι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σώματος τὴν κύκλῳ κίνησιν ὥστε ὁ Πλάτων ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς αὐτῷ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ὅθεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ψυχογονίᾳ ὁ Πλάτων τὰς τῶν οὐρανίων σφαιρῶν κινήσεις τῇ ψυχῇ τοῦ σώματος περιήψεν, ὡς ἔξ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν ἔστιν τῶν ῥητῶν Πλάτωνος· τὴν γὰρ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς κίνησιν, ἣν καλεῖ ταύτου, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐντὸς ἐπτά πλανωμένων, ἣν θατέρου προσηγόρευσεν, αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ παντὸς εἶπεν κινεῖσθαι καί, ὅπερ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὡς οὐσας τὰς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φορὰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήσεις. εἰ τοίνυν σαφῶς νοερὰν εἶναι φησιν καὶ ἀσώματον τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ψυχὴν ὁ Πλάτων, διαπλέξας δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σώματος κινήσεις τοπικὰς οὐσας κινήσεις αὐτὴν εἶπεν κινεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν ἀσώματον οὐσαν κατὰ τόπον κινεῖσθαι ἀδύνατον, καὶ τυφλῷ γε οἶμαι δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὡς ὅτι τὸν συμβολικὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας τρόπον τὸ τῆς κινήσεως τῷ οὐρανῷ αἷτιον αὐτὸ εἶπεν κινεῖσθαι); *ibid.*, p. 633, lines 17-9 Rabe (ἐν αὐτῷ γοῦν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, ἐν ᾧ θεὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον καὶ τοὺς φαινομένους ἀστέρας ἅπαντας εἴρηκεν, ἥλιον λέγω καὶ σελήνην καὶ τοὺς λοιπούς); *eiusd.*, *In De an.*, p. 146,

lines 6-7 Hayduck (τὰ γὰρ οὐράνια ἔμψυχα ὄντα οὐκ ἐξ ἐναντίων σύγκειται); *ibid.*, p. 596, line 39 – p. 597, line 1 Hayduck (ὅτι μὲν οὖν λογικὴν ἔχει ψυχὴν τὰ οὐράνια, δηλὸν ἅπασιν ἐκ τῆς κινήσεως αὐτῶν).

B. Joannes Philoponus' somewhat different views on the topic can be found in *De opificio mundi*, p. 231, lines 3–11 Reichardt:

Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τεκμήριον δεῖξαι δυνάμενον, ὥς ἔμψυχα ἐστὶ τὰ οὐράνια, οὐδὲ μαρτύριον τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς, ἐξ οὗ ὅτι μὴδὲ συνυπέστησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι οὐρανῶ καὶ γῇ συναποδείκνυται.

Εἰ δέ τισι τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔδοξεν ἔμψυχα τε καὶ λογικὰ εἶναι καὶ τὰ οὐράνια, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τί μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἴρηται τι τῶν τοιούτων, μὴδ' ὅτι 'κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν' τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος αὐτὰ γέγονεν;

Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 231, line 24 – p. 232, line 1 Reichardt (Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὥς ἔμψυχα τὰ οὐράνια δεικνύειν ἔξει τις, ἵνα καὶ λογικὴν ἔχειν αὐτὰ ψυχὴν συγχωρήσωμεν· ἡ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἀπὸ ψυχῆς ἐνεργειῶν τὰ ἔμψυχα διακρίνομεν τῶν ἀψύχων, ποία τις ἐνέργεια τῶν οὐρανίων ἔμψυχα δείκνυσιν αὐτά;); *ibid.*, p. 232, lines 8-10 (ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων οὐκέτι σημείον οὐδὲν τοῦ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ψυχικὴν τὴν ἐγκύκλιον αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι κίνησιν), and *ibid.*, p. 233, lines 10-17 Reichardt (Εἰ οὖν ἐκ μηδενὸς τῶν εἰρημένων ἔμψυχα τὰ οὐράνια δείκνυται, πολλῶ γε μᾶλλον οὐδ' ὅτι λογικῆς ἢ νοεράς μετέχει ψυχῆς, καὶ ἀναπόδεικτος παντελῶς ἡ ὑπόθεσις, ἡ δὲ εὐτακτος αὐτῶν κίνησις θεόθεν αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς, καὶ πρὸ γε πάντων, ὅτι μὴδὲ τι τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ μέγας ἠνίκατο Μωϋσῆς· τολμηρὸν οὖν ὥς ὁμολογούμενον τίθεσθαι, ὃ μήτε λόγος δείκνυσι μήτε θεία γραφή τούτῳ μαρτυρεῖ).

¹⁴⁰ Olympiodorus, *In Platonis Alcibiadem commentarii*, 17, lines 12-3 (ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεότης, νοῦς, ψυχὴ λογικὴ, ψυχὴ ἄλογος, εἶδος, ὕλη).

¹⁴¹ A. St. John Damascenus, *Sacra parallela*, PG, 95, 1280, lines 19-26 (Οἱ μὲν ἥλιον, οἱ δὲ σελήνην, οἱ δὲ ἀστέρων πλῆθος, οἱ δὲ οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ἅμα τούτοις ἐσεβάσθησαν, οἱ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα, ὧν ἄνευ οὐ δυνατόν συστήναι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον. Οἶμαι δὲ, καὶ δυναστεῖαν τινὲς θεραπεύοντες, καὶ ῥώμην ἐπαίνεσαντες, καὶ κάλλος θαυμάσαντες, θεὸν ἐποίησαν τῷ χρόνῳ τὸ τιμώμενον. Οἱ ἐμπαθέστεροι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πάθη θεοῦς ὠνόμασαν); *eiusd.*, *Passio magni martyris Artemii*, 47, lines 14-20 (Ὅτι δὲ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας θεοῦς ἀποκαλεῖς, αἰσχύνομαι τὸ τῆς ἀμαθίας, μᾶλλον δὲ κακοβουλίας ἐπάγγελμα. Οὐχὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομένιος, ὁ σὸς δηλαδὴ διδάσκαλος, μύθρον ἔφη τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας κισσηροειδῆ σώματα καὶ παντελῶς ἄψυχα καὶ ἀναίσθητα; Πῶς οὖν αὐτός, βασιλέων ἄριστε καὶ φιλοσοφώτατε, τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν σῶν διδασκάλων ἀθετούμενα καὶ διαβαλλόμενα θεοῦς προσαγορεύεις;); Michael Psellus, *Opuscula logica, physica, allegorica, alia*, 3, line 119 Duffy (μετροῦσι δὲ τὰς οὐρανίους κινήσεις ὥς ἄριστα καὶ τὸν ἥλιον θεὸν ἡγνῆται μέγιστον, ψυχὰς τε πᾶσι τοῖς ἄστροις διδόασιν); cf. *eiusd.*, *Opuscula psychologica, theologica, daemonologica*, p. 12, lines 17-8 O'Meara (καὶ αὐθις ἕτερος τὰς τῶν σφαιρῶν τούτων ψυχὰς ἐννοήσει); *eiusd.*, *Orationes forenses et acta*, 1, lines 813-4 Dennis (καὶ οὐκέτι πολυπραγμονοῦμεν, εἰ ἔννοους ὁ κόσμος καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς ἔμψυχοις); *eiusd.*, *Oratoria minora*, 36, lines 4-5 (πεποικίλται μὲν οὐρανὸς ἀστράσιν, ἀλλ' ἄψυχα ταῦτα σώματα καὶ μένοντα ἐφ' ἧς ἐγένετο τάξεως); *eiusd.*, *Theologica*, 90, lines 53-6 Gautier (καθάπτεσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐν ταῦθα καὶ τῶν Πλατωνικῶν ψευδολογιῶν καὶ ὅσα δὴ Ἰάμβλικός τε καὶ Πρόκλος καὶ Πορφύριος περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων σφαιρῶν διεξιόντες πεφίλοσοφήκασιν· ἔμψυχα γὰρ πάντα τὰ μέχρι σελήνης ἀπεφάναντο); *eiusd.*, *De omnifaria doctrina*, 194, lines 10-3 Westerink (Πυθαγόρας δὲ ἔλεγε κινεῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν τὴν ψυχὴν τοῖς ἑαυτῆς λόγοις ἐναρμόνιον).

¹⁴² a) Simeon Seth, *Conspectus rerum naturalium*, 3, 29: Οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τὰς τε σφαῖρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐμψύχους ἐδόξαζον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας, λέγοντες εἰ τὰ ἐνταῦθα γεώδη σώματα ψυχῆς οὐκ ἠμοίρην, πόσῳ γε μᾶλλον τὰ οὐράνια. ἡμεῖς δὲ λέγομεν ὡς ἡ κίνησις τούτων φυσικὴ ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ ψυχικὴ.

b) Nicolaus Methonaeus (twelfth century), *Refutatio institutionis theologicae Procli*, 129: Σῶμα θεῖον οὗτος μὲν βούλεται λέγειν τὸ οὐράνιον, αὐτόν τε ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀστέρας, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἔμψυχα ταῦτα

εἶναι δοξάζει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ νοερὰ καὶ θεῖα· ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον εἶναι ὁμολογοῦμεν, διὸ οὐδὲ νοερὸν οὐδὲ θεῖον. (...) ὅτι δὲ ἄψυχος ὁ ὅλος οὐρανὸς ἐντεῦθεν ἂν καταφανὲς γένοιτο· πᾶν ἔμψυχον τρέφεται καὶ αὖξει· πᾶν τὸ αὖξον μείζονα τόπον ἀναλαμβάνει καὶ μείζον ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται· ὁ οὐρανὸς οὕτε τρέφεται οὕτε αὖξει οὕτε μείζων ἑαυτοῦ γίνεται οὕτε τόπον ἀναλαμβάνει ἑαυτοῦ μείζονα· ὁ οὐρανὸς ἄρα οὐκ ἔμψυχος. ὁπότε δὲ ὁ πᾶς οὐρανὸς οὐκ ἔμψυχος, σχολή γ' ἂν περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος οὐρανίων σωμάτων ἀμφιβάλλειν, εἰ ἔμψυχα εἴτε ἄψυχα. Cf. *ibid.*, 165: ὦν δὲ κοσμηκῶν τε καὶ ὑλικῶν στοιχείων οὐδὲν ἴσμεν οὐδὲ ὀνομάζομεν θεῖον, πολλοῦ γε δέον οὐδὲ θεόν, ἃ γε καὶ ἄψυχα ἴσμεν ὄντα καὶ ἄνοα, ὥσπερ λίθους καὶ ξύλα καὶ παντοῖα μέταλλα γῆς καὶ γῆν αὐτήν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ αὐτὸν οὐρανόν. εἰ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κινεῖσθαι ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν σώματα ἔμψυχά τε καὶ ἔννοα, τάχα καὶ ἡ γῆ καὶ τὰ κατὰ γῆν διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ καθ' αὐτὰ ἡρεμεῖν ἔμψυχα ἂν εἴη καὶ ἔννοα· ἀλλὰ λίθων ἂν τις ἀναισθητότερος τοῦτο δοίη ἀληθὲς εἶναι.

¹⁴³ Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, I, 13, lines 44-7: ὀπηνίκα δὴ οὖν προνοίαις τοῦ γεννηθέντος παμβασιλέως Χριστοῦ, τὸν ἀστέρα οἶάπερ ἔμψυχόν τινα καὶ νοερὰν δύναμιν ἐκ Περσίδος πρὸς Ἰουδαίαν κινούμενον κατενόησαν. But cf. *ibid.*, 17, 28, lines 25-8: Εἴ τις λέγει οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας καὶ ὕδατα τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐμψύχους καὶ ὑλικὰς εἶναι τινὰς δυνάμεις, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω (taken from Justinianus, *Edictum contra Origenem*, p. 116, lines 27-8 Amelotti-Zingale; cf. above, our note 137, B).

¹⁴⁴ Gregorius Palamas, *Capita physica, theologica, moralia et practica* CL, 4, lines 10-11 Sinkewicz: οὐδ' ἔστι τις οὐράνιος ἢ παγκόσμιος ψυχὴ· ἀλλὰ μόνη λογικὴ ψυχὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη. Cf. Sophonias, *In Aristotelis libros de anima paraphrasis*, p. 55, lines 33-4 Hayduck (εἴπερ ἔμψυχα τὰ οὐράνια σώματα κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ἀναπλασμόν, δεῖ τελεωτέραν εἶναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς ψυχὴν), and Theodorus Gazes (fifteenth century), *Antirrheticon*, 24, lines 8-10 (θορυβηθεὶς τις ἂν ἀκούων, πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἔμψυχον καὶ ζῶον λέγοντες, πότερον ἢ οὐσία τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ παντὸς περιφορᾶς ἐστὶ ζῶον).

¹⁴⁵ Gennadius Scholarius, *Epitome summae contra gentiles Thomae Aquinae*, 1, 13, lines 46-8 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (ὅτι ὑπόκειται ἐνταῦθα τὸ πρῶτως κινούμενον ἥτοι τὸ οὐράνιον σῶμα εἶναι κινούμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ᾧ ἔπεται τὸ εἶναι ἔμψυχον· ὅπερ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἥκιστα συγχωρεῖται). Cf. also *ibid.*, 3, 87, lines 1-2 Jugie-Petit-Siderides (Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῇ δυνάμει τῆς κινούσης τὸν οὐρανὸν οὐσίας, εἴτε ἔμψυχόν τις αὐτὸν ὑποθεοῖτο, εἴτε ὑπὸ χωριστῆς οὐσίας κινοῖτο); *eiusd.*, *Epitome primae partis Summae Theologicae Thomae Aquinae*, 5, 70, 3 (lines 32-9 Jugie-Petit-Siderides: Ὅτι οἱ φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔμψυχοι· ἀφειμένων γὰρ τῶν δοξῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρας μύθρον εἶπεν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, διὸ καὶ κατεψηφίσθη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· οἱ δὲ Πλατωνικοὶ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα οὐράνια ἔμψυχα ὑπετίθεντο, τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν δόξαν σκοπιτέον τίς ἐστίν. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ὠριγένης ἔμψυχα εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἰερώνυμος συνδοξάζειν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ. Βασίλειος δὲ καὶ Δαμασκηνὸς ἰσχυρίζονται μὴ εἶναι ἔμψυχα. Αὐγουστίνος δὲ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ κατέλιπε, μηδετέρωθι φανερώς ῥέπων); *ibid.*, lines 67-74 (Ὅτι δὲ τὰ οὐράνια σώματα ὑπὸ τίνος νοερᾶς κινούνται δυνάμει, καὶ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς τὰ βαρέα καὶ κοῦφα, δηλὸν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν φύσιν πρὸς ἑν μόνον κινεῖν, ὃ λαβοῦσα ἡρεμεῖ. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανίων οὐ φαίνεται· ὅθεν δηλὸν ὑπὸ τίνος νοερᾶς φύσεως αὐτὰ κινεῖσθαι. Οὕτως οὖν δηλὸν ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια σώματα οὐκ εἰσὶν ἔμψυχα τῷ τῶν ζῶων τρόπῳ καὶ τῶν φυτῶν, ἀλλ' ὁμνύμους, ὥστε μεταξὺ τῶν τιθέντων αὐτὰ ἔμψυχα καὶ τῶν ἄψυχα οἰομένων κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι τὸ διάφορον, οὐ κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα).

¹⁴⁶ Matthaeus Vlastares, *Collectio alphabetica*, α, 2, lines 256-7: σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας προσκυνεῖν οἶα θεοὺς ἐπέτρπε.

¹⁴⁷ a) As for Origen, who is said to have admitted that the heavenly bodies have a soul, cf., for example, the anonymous *Vita Rufini*, II (PL, 21, 127 A): *Deus ante corpora quendam numerum aequalium animarum creavit*,

quae quum pro maiori parte peccassent, secundum peccatorum mensuram, qualitatemque, in variis corporibus ad id creatis, ut easdem puniat, velut carceribus includantur, ita ut ex spiritibus puris, Angelorum, Astrorum, atque hominum animae evadant; Origenes enim censet, Angelos anima et corpore subtilissimo constare, et pro suis quemque meritis varia ministeria subire. Putat astra esse animata, pulchrosque carceres, spiritibus minus reis, quam ii sunt qui Mundum inferiorem colunt, destinatos. Cf. also Rufinus, *Apologiae in Sanctum Hieronymum*, I, 38 (PL, 21, 575 C): *Et astra, inquit [Al. quidem], vel caetera quae in coelo sunt, rationabilia dicit et delicti capacia*; St. Jerome, *Epistola CXXIV ad Avitum* (*Quid cavendum in libris περὶ ἀρχῶν*), 4 (PL, 22, 1062): *Solem quoque, et lunam et astra caetera, esse animantia*.

b) Besides Origen, the belief that the heavenly bodies have a soul, are divine, and their being worshipped, was subjected to critical discussions and rejected as a pagan error by several Christian writers. The *Deuteronomium*, 4, 19, already warned against astral worship (καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας καὶ πάντα τὸν κόσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πλανηθεὶς προσκυνήσῃς αὐτοῖς καὶ λατρεύσῃς αὐτοῖς, ἃ ἀπένειμεν κύριος ὁ θεός σου αὐτὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν τοῖς ὑποκάτω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ = *Ne forte elevatis oculis ad coelum, videas solem et lunam, et omnia astra coeli, et errore deceptus adores ea, et colas quae creavit Dominus Deus tuus in ministerium cunctis gentibus, quae sub coelo sunt*). The Church Fathers seem to have been consequent with the *Deuteronomium*, as we can see in the following passages:

b.1. Tertullian, *Ad nationes*, II, 2 (PL, 1, 661 A: *Aequae Arcesilaüs trinam formam divinitatis ducit, Olympios, Astra, Titaneos. (...) Aegyptiorum plerique quatuor deos credunt, Solem et Lunam, Coelum ac Terram*); *ibid.*, II, 3 (PL, 1, 662: *quomodo quidam assignant elementis, quae deos volunt, generationem, cum stoici negent quicquam Deo nasci? Item, quomodo volunt, quos de elementis natos ferunt, deos haberi, cum Deum negent nasci? Itaque quod mundi erit, hoc elementis ascribetur, coelo dico et terrae et sideribus et igni, quae deos et deorum parentes adversus negatam generationem Dei et nativitatem frustra credi proposuit Varro. Et qui Varro indicaverat animalia esse coelum et astra*);

b.2. Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, 3, 35, discusses whether the heavenly bodies, as parts of the universe, are to be considered animated beings, since the universe was held to have a soul as well (PL, 5, 986-8: *In philosophiae memorabiles studio, atque [Col.0987A] ad istius nominis columen vobis laudatoribus elevati, universam istam molem mundi, cujus omnes amplexibus ambimur, tegimur, ac sustinemur, animal esse unum, sapiens, rationabile [Note: [Col.0987B] Ita Sab. male. Corrige: rationale.], consultum probabili asseveratione definiunt: quorum si est vera, et fixa, certa sententia, etiam illi continuo desinent dii esse, quos in ejus portionibus paulo ante immutatis nominibus constituebatis. Ut enim homo unus nequit permanente sui corporis integritate in homines multos scindi: neque homines rursus multi, disjunctionis differentia conservata, in unius sensus simplicitatem conflari: ita si mundus unum est animal, et unius mentis agitatione motatur: nec in plura potest numina dissipari, nec, si ejus particulae dii sunt, in unius animantis conscientiam cogi atque verti. Luna, [Col.0987B] sol, tellus, aether, astra, membra sunt, et mundi partes: quod si partes et membra sunt, animalia utique sui nominis non sunt: neque enim partes hoc ipsum esse, quod totum est, aliqua in re possunt: aut sibi sapere, sibi sentire, quod sine totius animantis assensu nullis propriis afficiatur e motibus, quo constituto, ac posito, summa omnis illuc [Col.0988A] redit: ut neque sol deus sit, neque luna, neque aether, tellus, et caetera. Sunt enim partes mundi, non specialia numinum nomina: atque ita perficitur, omnia vobis turbantibus miscentibusque divina, ut in rerum natura unus Deus constituatur mundus, explosis omnibus caeteris: quinimmo [Note: [Col.0987B] Omnino Fulv.] inaniter, vacue, et sine ulla substantia constitutis*);

b.3. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones*, II, 5 (PL, 6, 278 A – 280 C): *cum etiam philosophi Stoicae disciplinae in eadem sint opinione, ut omnia coelestia, quae moventur, in deorum numero habenda esse censeant; siquidem Lucilius Stoicus apud Ciceronem sic loquitur: «Hanc igitur in stellis constantiam, hanc tantam in tam variis cursibus in omni aeternitate convenientiam temporum, non possum intelligere sine mente, ratione, consilio; quae cum in sideribus esse videamus, non possumus ea ipsa non in deorum numero reponere.» Item paulo superius: «Restat,*

inquit, ut motus astrorum sit voluntarius; quae qui videat, non indocte solum, verum etiam [Col.0278B] impie faciat, si deos esse neget.» Nos vero et quidem constanter negamus, ac vos, o philosophi, non solum indoctos et impios, verum etiam caecos, ineptos delirosque probamus, qui ignorantiam imperitorum vanitate vicistis. Illi enim solem et lunam, vos etiam sidera deos putatis.

Tradite igitur nobis stellarum mysteria, ut aras et templa singulis erigamus; ut sciamus quo quamque ritu, quo die colamus, quibus nominibus, quibus precibus advocemus; nisi forte nullo discrimine tam innumerabiles, tam minutos deos acervatim colere debemus. Quid quod argumentum illud, quo colligunt universa coelestia deos esse, in contrarium [Col.0279A] valet. Nam si deos esse idcirco opinantur, quia certos et rationabiles [Col.0279A] cursus habent, errant. Ex hoc enim apparet deos non esse, quod exorbitare illis a praestitutis itineribus non licet. Caeterum si dii essent, huc atque illuc passim sine ulla necessitate ferrentur, sicut animantes in terra, quarum quia liberae sunt voluntates, huc atque illuc vagantur, ut libuit, et quo quamque mens duxerit, eo fertur. Non est igitur astrorum motus voluntarius, sed necessarius, quia praestitutis legibus officiisque deserviunt. Sed cum disputaret de cursibus siderum, quos ex ipsa rerum ac temporum congruentia intelligebat non esse fortuitos, existimavit voluntarios esse, tamquam non possent tam disposite, tam ordinate moveri, nisi sensus illis inesset officii sui sciens. O quam difficilis est ignorantibus veritas, et quam facilis scientibus! [Col.0279B] Si motus, inquit, astrorum fortuiti non sunt, nihil aliud restat, nisi ut voluntarii sint; immo vero, ut non esse fortuitos manifestum est, ita nec voluntarios. Quomodo igitur in conficiendis itineribus constantiam suam servant? Nimirum Deus, universi artifex, sic illa disposuit, sic machinatus est, ut per spatia coeli divina et admirabili ratione decurrerent, ad efficiendas succedentium sibi temporum varietates. An Archimedes Siculus concavo aere similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem ac lunam composuit, ut inaequales motus, et coelestibus similes conversionibus, singulis quasi diebus efficerent, et non modo accessus solis et recessus, vel incrementa diminutionesque lunae, verum [Col.0279C] etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium, vel vagarum, dispares cursus orbis ille, dum vertitur, exhiberet? Deus ergo illa vera non potuit machinari et efficere quae potuit solertia hominis imitatione simulare?

Utrumne igitur stoïcus, si astrorum figuras in illo [Col.0280A] aere pictas effectasque vidisset, suo illa consilio moveri diceret, ac non potius artificis ingenio? Inest ergo sideribus ratio ad peragendos meatus suos apta: sed Dei est illa ratio, qui et fecit, et regit omnia, non ipsorum siderum, quae moventur. Nam si solem stare voluisset, perpetuus utique dies esset. Item, si motus astra non haberent, quis dubitet sempiternam noctem fuisse futuram? Sed ut diei ac noctis vices essent, moveri ea voluit: et tam varie moveri, ut non modo lucis ac tenebrarum mutuae vicissitudines fierent, quibus laboris et quietis alterna spatia constarent; sed etiam frigoris et caloris, ut diversorum temporum vis ac potestas, vel generandis, vel maturandis frugibus conveniret. Quam solertiam divinae potestatis in machinandis itineribus astrorum, quia [Col.0280B] philosophi non videbant, animalia esse sidera putaverunt; tamquam pedibus, et sponte, non divina ratione procederent. Cur autem illa excogitaverit Deus, quis non intelligit? Scilicet ne solis lumine decedente, nimium caeca nox tetrus atque horrentibus tenebris ingravesceret, noceretque viventibus. Itaque et coelum simul mira varietate distinxit, et tenebras ipsas multis minutisque luminibus temperavit. Quanto igitur Naso prudentius, quam illi, qui sapientiae studere se putant, qui sentit a Deo lumina illa, ut honorem tenebrarum depellerent, instituta! Is eum librum, quo Φαινόμενα breviter comprehendit, his tribus versibus terminavit:

Tot numero, talique Deus simulacra figura

Imposuit coelo, perque atras sparsa tenebras

Clara pruinosae jussit dare lumina nocti.

[Col.0280C] Quod si fieri non potest, ut stellae dii sint; ergo nec sol quidem, nec luna dii esse possunt, quoniam luminibus astrorum, non ratione differunt, sed magnitudine. Quod si hi dii non sunt; ergo nec coelum quidem, in quo illa omnia continentur.

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- b.4. Ps. St. Augustine, *Quaestiones ex Novo Testamento*, LXXXII (PL, 35, 2276): *Pagani non sub elementis serviunt, sed ipsis elementis. Colunt enim astra, solem, lunam et sidera; haec in firmamento: in inferioribus autem terram, aquam: in mari vero Neptunum: in inferis autem Plutonem: aperte creaturam mundanam colunt, praeterito Creatore.*
- b.5. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, I, vv. 365-71 (PL, 60, 149 A – 150 A: *Denique cum Luna est, sublustri splendet amictu: / Cum succincta jacet calamos, Latonia virgo est: / Cum subnixa sedet solio, Plutonia conjux / Imperitat furiis, et dictat jura Megaerae. / Si verum quaeris: Triviae sub nomine daemon / Tartareus colitur: qui te modo raptat ad aethram, / Sidereoque deum venerandum suadet in astro*); *ibid.*, v. 442 (PL, 60, 155 A: *nec tibi terra deus, coeli nec sit deus astrum*);
- b.6. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (ninth century), *Historiae de vitis romanorum pontificum continuatio*, 71 (PL, 128, 696 C: *ex gentilibus cultum Lunae, seu alicuius astri* [sc. “Mahometes ascivit”]);
- b.7. Gennadius Scholarius (fifteenth century), *Epitome Summae contra gentiles Thomae Aquinae*, 3, 120: Γεγόνασι δέ τινες οὐ μόνον τῇ πρώτῃ πάντων ἀρχῇ τὸ σέβας καὶ τὴν λατρείαν ἀποδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις, εἰ καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐνόμιζον πρώτην καὶ καθόλου πάντων ἀρχήν, οἷον ταῖς νοεραῖς οὐσίαις καὶ οὐρανίοις, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὡς ἔλεγον, τῶν σφαιρῶν ἢ τῶν ἄστρον, καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσιν ὑπ’ αὐτάς, οὐσίαις νοεραῖς σώμασιν ἠνωμέναις, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἀερώδεσιν, καὶ ταῖς ἡρωϊκαῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσιν, ἅτε ψυχὴν ἔχοντος κατ’ αὐτούς, καὶ εἰκόσι τισίν, αἱ καὶ θεοὺς ἐκάλουν, ὡς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰδωλολάτραι αὐτοὺς κληθῆναι.

d) Could the Platonic Sirens be celestial psychopomps?

At first sight, the answer to this question could be negative: so far as we know, there are no pieces of iconographic evidence showing the Sirens as celestial psychopomps, but this may be a consequence of the already mentioned scarcity of images of the Sirens in heavenly contexts (cf. II. 1. a.). Nevertheless, on the Northern and Southern sides of the so (wrongly) called Tomb of the Harpyiai (Xanthos, at the South-East of Lycia, ca. 500 B. C. E.; hereafter “monument of the Sirens”; our pl. 28¹⁴⁸), winged Sirens hold in their arms small human figures, which may allow these Sirens to be interpreted as psychopomps.¹⁴⁹ Those small figures do not show any trace of movement on their own, and we may accordingly assume that they represent the dead.¹⁵⁰ Another psychopomp Siren is represented in a Western Greek terracotta of the fourth century B. C. E.,¹⁵¹ and there are many other examples from the sixth century B. C. E. onward,¹⁵² several of which come from Italy, where Pythagorean beliefs were highly widespread. The Lycian location of the Monument of the Sirens at Xanthos may be symptomatic of the hypothetical Oriental origins of these beliefs.¹⁵³

All this shows that by Plato’s time the Sirens could also be conceived as psychopomps. This might be a consequence of their being imagined as souls, according to the *similia similibus* principle, that is: anything is more likely to have power on what is similar to it.¹⁵⁴ Then, if, to judge from artistic monuments, the Sirens were believed to have the power of leading souls to paradise, why was Plato silent about that in the myth of Er? The reason may be that this myth exposes a doctrine of reincarnation that excludes the heavenly realms as the everlasting abode of the souls of the blest.



Pl. 28: Psychopomp Siren (Southern side of the Sirens' Monument, Xanthos).

However, the belief in heavens, aetherial regions, or stars as destiny of the souls was common from the Classical times onwards. We have already mentioned some sources: the epitaph for the dead at Poteidaia (432 B. C. E.), and some passages by Sophocles and Euripides.¹⁵⁵ The belief in celestial immortality continued to be attested in later periods. Although we cannot present here the whole evidence for that belief,¹⁵⁶ we can mention that, in the imperial period, there were depictions of scenes where an eagle carries the images of the emperors to the heavens, as we see in the apotheosis of the empress Faustina, represented on coins (our pl. 29, on the next page) and on the arch of Marcus Aurelius. Dio Cassius (a Greek historian of the second-third centuries C. E.), in his account of Augustus's exequies, alludes to this belief that an eagle carries the soul to the heaven. Sometimes it is Aion, a god represented as a winged man, who carries the effigy of the imperial persons (our pl. 30 and 31, on pages 122-3).¹⁵⁷

It is obvious that Aion or the eagles of imperial apotheoses are not celestial singing Sirens, although they share with them the wings and an eventual link with a heavenly body (in the case of the eagle, associated with the Sun¹⁵⁸). But this increasing concern about immortality and psychopomps could provide the framework for a very interesting interpretation by Plutarch (I-II C. E.), who explicitly attributed to the cosmic Sirens of Plato's myth the function of leading souls to paradise. For Plutarch, the function of the Sirens in Plato's myth is a soteriological one: their singing entices the souls of the dead with the love of divine things and leads them towards their heavenly abode.¹⁵⁹ According to Plutarch, the Sirens of Plato's myth of Er had in the Other World the same cathartic power the Pythagoreans attributed to human music.¹⁶⁰ Proclus, who distinguishes three kinds of Sirens (those of the heavens, of the seas, and of the Hades), attributed to the Sirens of Hades a function similar to the one suggested by Plutarch.¹⁶¹ As we said above, if Plato did not say anything about that function of the Sirens, it

might be because in his myth he did not locate the ultimate destination of the souls among the stars.¹⁶² But some images of the Sirens may allow their interpretation as psychopomps, even in Classical times, as we have seen.



Pl. 29: Roman sestertertius from 141 C. E.,
showing the apotheosis of empress Faustina, carried by an eagle
(Photograph © 2013 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



Pl. 30: Apotheosis of Faustina and Antoninus Pius, carried by a winged Aion.

A last echo of this conception can be found in the sixth-century C. E. grammarian and poet Joannes of Gaza. He might have had in mind these ideas (the Sirens as heavenly soul-leading spirits) when writing, at the beginning of his *Description of the Cosmic Map*, that the winged, clear-voiced sound of the Sirens drove him through the air with its wise whistling.¹⁶³ Joannes of Gaza is talking about a kind of soul-journey different from that of Er in Plato's myth: that of Joannes of Gaza is not an eschatological vision, but an imaginary journey through heavens, which he describes. But it is interesting that the Sirens could guide the poet-astronomer, since this task was normally assigned to the Muses, Urania in particular.¹⁶⁴ The substitution of the Sirens for the Muses in this instance might be an echo of Plato's heavenly Sirens.



Pl. 31: Apotheosis of Sabina, carried by a winged Aion

(Roma. Musei Capitolini, inv. MC 1213/S;

negative: Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini).

¹⁴⁸ About this monument, now in the British Museum (GR 1848.10-20.1 [Sculpture B 287]), vid. Pryce, 1928, vol. I, 1st part, p. 117, and esp. pp. 122-9 (= B 287), with plates XXI and XXII; Berger, 1970, pl. 146-7; Boschung, 1979; Demargne, 1958, pl. 5; *eiusd.*, 1974, pl. 61; Haynes, 1970, No. 21; Panofsky, 1964, pl. 25 and 27, and Shahbazi, 1975, 15-50, pl. 1-5, among others. One of those Sirens can be seen on our pl. 28 (cf. also Buschor, 1944, 36-37, and figs. 27-28; Hofstetter, 1990, 243-4 (O 61, O 62), and pl. 22-23; Vermeule, 1979, 170, pl. 21, and <http://163.1.48.106/CGPrograms/Cast/image/A026.jpg> and <http://163.1.48.106/CGPrograms/Cast/image/A027.jpg>, as consulted on March 17th 2006). Hofstetter identifies these images as belonging to the Northern and Southern sides of the Sirens' monument, and dates them to the second quarter of the V B. C. E. According to Hofstetter, with whom we agree, the usual name "tomb of the Harpyiai" is not exact, because the Harpyiai were represented as winged women, not as human-headed birds (cf. Furtwängler, 1882, col. 208; Bulle, 1900, 35, n. 1; Smith, 1892-3, 103-4; Hofstetter, 1990, 35, and 323, n. 279 to p. 35; Kahil, 1988, 446; Picard, 1938, 149-50; Shahbazi, 1975, 15 and 21-2, and Waser,

1913, 338, who interprets the Sirens of Xanthos as “death angels”.) On the wings of the Harpyiai, cf. Vojatzi, 1982, 53. Despite all that, Vermeule, 1970, 170, interprets the figures as Harpyiai, even recognizing their unusual protective attitude toward the deceased they are holding in their arms. Cf. also Hofstetter, 1990, 244. To avoid conflict as to the denomination of this monument, it is also possible to call it “Kybernis’ tomb.”

¹⁴⁹ Hofstetter, 1990, 248, and p. 390, n. 1130 to p. 248, admits that the destiny of the flight of those Sirens may be the sphere of the heroicized deceased (in fact, the other figures of the Xanthos’s relief have been interpreted as such; cf. Gabelmann, 1984, 40-43). Smith, 1892-3, 104, interpreted the Xanthos Sirens as psychopomps, remarking that they “hold their burden with the utmost care, and there is no suggestion of rape or violence.” Nevertheless, Hofstetter prefers to interpret the Sirens from Xanthos as *κουροτρόφοι* (cf. Hofstetter, 1990, 390, n. 1131 to p. 248; 394, n. 1189 to p. 256, and Hadzisteliou Price, 1978, 73). But we would like to ask why a *κουροτρόφος* should be represented as a Siren, or the other way around: why should a Siren play the role of a *κουροτρόφος*? We do not know any pieces of evidence for the Sirens to have had children or to take care of the children of other people; neither do we know of any connection of the Sirens with fertility. On the other hand, the Sirens from Xanthos match quite well the ideas of Buschor, 1944: as Pollard, 1952, 60, and Bonati and Bernardelli, 2001, 92, put them, for Buschor the psychopomp Sirens were the original ones, instead of those of Homer, and they were “infernal counterparts of the heavenly Muses, who charmed the souls of the dead in Hades with their song, and acted as their escort from this world to the next.”

¹⁵⁰ Hofstetter, 1990, 391, n. 1132 to p. 248, suggests to compare the small figures held by the Sirens with the deceased persons represented on *lékythoi* from Western Greece, roughly a century later than the monument of the Sirens at Xanthos. According to Berger, 1970, 136 ff., those figures represent *Ψυχαί*, an interpretation criticized by Hofstetter on the ground that the *Ψυχαί* are winged, whereas the beings held by the Sirens have no wings. However, their small size may provide further support to the hypothesis that they represent souls, and we have presented wingless images of the souls as well (cf. note 91 A. 2., in section II. 1. c. 3.)

¹⁵¹ Now at the Rijksmuseum of Leiden (K 1983/5.1); cf. Hofstetter, 1997, 1099, No. 75 (cf. plate on *LIMC*, VIII, 2, p. 739, and Halbertsma *et al.*, 1990, 132-3, No. 95). Cf. also Hofstetter, 1997, 1099, No. 74 (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 01.7576, from I B. C. E.-I C. E.) According to Hofstetter, 1990, 394, n. 1191 to p. 256, and n. 1131 ff., Buschor, 1944, 35 ff., considered those Sirens “bird-daemons” which take care of the dead (Weicker, 1902, 7, called them “Todesengel”), and this belief might have been encouraged by the Orphics (we do not know of any evidence for this Orphic connexion.)

¹⁵² Cf. Hofstetter, 1990, pl. 31, 1 (cf. p. 255: W 20: statuette from Italy, beginnings of the IV B. C. E., now in Berlin, Pergamonmuseum –Antikensammlung, according to Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 20, n. 99–, 8299; cf. Weicker, 1902, 7, fig. 5; Buschor, 1944, 36, fig. 26); Leclercq-Marx, 1997, 20 (Italian terracotta, III-II B. C. E., now in Berlin, Antikensammlung). For some earlier carnellians with Sirens flying and holding small human creatures, vid. Hofstetter, 1990, V 33 (from an English private collection; last quarter of the VI B. C. E.; cf. Boardman, 1975, No. 14), and V 35 (from a tomb at Chiusi, last quarter of the VI B. C. E.; cf. Furtwängler, 1900, vol. III, 103, fig. 70).

¹⁵³ This could be the topic of another research, which we plan to undertake in the future.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *Od.*, 17, 218; this idea, whose roots belong to magic thought, is to be found also in Empedocles (cf. Arist. *EE*, 1235a 11; *EN*, 1155b 7; *MM*, 1208b 11 ss.; *De an.*, 404b 11; Thphr. *De sens.*, 1 = Emp. A 86 DK) and the Pythagoreans (S. E. *M.*, 1, 303, and 7, 92 ff.; Philol. A 27 and 29, B 17 Huffman). Cf. also Pl. *Ly.*, 214b, and Arist. *EE*, 1235a 9 ff., and *De an.*, 404b 17. For a deeper discussion of this topic, cf. Combarieu, 1909; Zeller-Mondolfo, 1950, 331, and Müller, 1965.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. n. 42; for the belief in music as one of the pleasures of the afterlife, see our note 44 (in II. 1. c.).

¹⁵⁶ We plan to do it in a future edition of this work. An excellent introduction to the topic of astral immortality can be found in Burkert, 1962, 350-68 of the English version.

¹⁵⁷ A. The relation between the belief in soul-birds and the apotheosis scenes was suggested by Rieß, 1894, 190, but we should notice that in those scenes the eagle does not represent a soul, but a psychopomp; cf. Baumeister, 1885; Boissier, 1877; Cumont, 1910 and 1917, and Kirsch, 1913. The apotheosis of Faustina, carried by an eagle, is represented on coins (cf. the Roman sestertius from 141 C. E., conserved at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1972.75, our pl. 29; cf. also Boissier, 1877, 326, fig. 391) and on the arch of Marcus Aurelius (carried by a winged god; cf. Baumeister, 1885, pl. 116). Moreover, on the bas-reliefs of the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus (Baalbek, epoch of the Antonine dynasty), the eagle carries the caduceus of Hermes, which corroborates its function as psychopomp (vid. Cumont, 1910, 160.)

B. Literary reflexes of the belief in the eagle as psychopomp:

1. Cassius Dio, 56, 42, 3: ἀετὸς δὲ τις ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφεθείς ἀνίπτατο ὡς καὶ δὴ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρει.

2. Herodianus, *Ab excessu divi Marci*, IV, 2, 11: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ βραχυτάτου κατασκευάσματος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τινος ἐπάλλεως, ἀετὸς ἀφίεται σὺν τῷ πυρὶ ἀνελυσόμενος ἐς τὸν αἰθέρα, ὃς φέρειν ἀπὸ γῆς ἐς οὐρανὸν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ψυχὴν πιστεύεται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν θρησκεύεται.

C. For the apotheosis of Sabina, carried by Aion, see our pl. 31, sent by the “Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini” (we thank the director of the “Sovrintendenza Capitolina,” Dr. Claudio Parisi Presicce, for authorizing the reproduction of the picture in his letter of September 9th 2013); cf. also Berefelt, 1968, 58, fig. 38; for the apotheosis of Faustina and Antoninus Pius, carried by Aion as well, cf. Boissier, 1877, 325, fig. 390, and our pl. 30, taken from http://3.bp.blogspot.com/-juVxDxmZUSY/TrOjOL5x4VI/AAAAAAAAAqs/UEdxPK72VFs/s1600/antonino_base.jpg (August 4th 2013); cf.

also Berefelt, 1968, 59, fig. 39. About Aion, cf., among others, Casadio, 1997.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. the bronze eagle with the inscription ΗΛΙΟΣ, in Dussaud, 1903, 22, fig. 9.

¹⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Quaestiones convivales*, IX, 14, 6, 2, 745 d 8-e 3: αἱ γὰρ μὲν δὴ Ὀμήρου Σειρήνες οὐ κατὰ λόγον ἡμᾶς τῷ μύθῳ φοβοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος ὁρθῶς ἠνίξαστο τὴν τῆς μουσικῆς αὐτῶν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπάνθρωπον οὐδ’ ὀλέθριον οὔσαν ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐντεῦ- (E.) θεν ἀπιούσαις ἐκεῖ ψυχαῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ πλανωμέναις μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἔρωτα πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια καὶ θεῖα λήθην δὲ τῶν θνητῶν ἐμποιοῦσαν κατέχειν καὶ κατὰ δειν θελγομένας, αἱ δ’ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἔπονται καὶ συμπεριπολοῦσιν. Cf. also Plutarch’s *De animae procreatione in Timaeo*, 1029 c, and Hofstetter, 1990, 23. We have quoted above (n. 42) some sources attesting the belief in heavens as the destiny of the souls. Boyancé, 1963, 76-9, suggests that Eudorus, a disciple of Antiochus of Ascalon, could be the source for what Plutarch said in that passage about the Sirens (the same can be said, according to Boyancé, concerning Philo of Alexandria, *Quaest. in Genesim*, III, 3; cf. our note 3 A to II. 1. 1.).

¹⁶⁰ A. From classical times onward, the Pythagoreans were told to believe in the cathartic powers of music:

A. 1. Aristoxenus, fr. 26 Wehrli, in Cramer, *Anecdota Parisina graeca*, I, p. 172: ὅτι οἱ Πυθαγορικοί, ὡς ἔφη Ἀριστόξενος, καθάρσει ἐχρῶντο τοῦ μὲν σώματος διὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς.

A. 2. Cicero, *Tusculanae*, IV, 3: *vestigia autem Pythagoreorum quamquam multa colligi possunt, paucis tamen utemur, quoniam non id agitur hoc tempore. nam cum carminibus soliti illi esse dicantur [et] praecepta quaedam occultius tradere et mentes suas a cogitationum intentione cantu fidibusque ad tranquillitatem traducere.*

- A. 3. Quintilianus, IX, 4, 12: *Pythagoreis certe moris fuit et cum evigilassent animos ad lyram excitare, quod essent ad agendum erectiores, et cum somnum peterent ad eandem prius lenire mentes, ut, si quid fuisset turbidiorum cogitationum, componerent.*
- A. 4. Plut. *De Iside et Osiride*, 383 f – 384 a: καὶ τὸ φανταστικὸν καὶ δεκτικὸν ὀνείρων ἰ μῦθον ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἀπολεαίνει καὶ ποιεῖ καθαρώτερον οὐδὲν ἦτον ἢ τὰ κρούματα τῆς λύρας, οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρὸ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ ἐμπαθὲς καὶ ἄλογον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξεπάρχοντες οὕτω καὶ θεραπεύοντες.
- A. 5. Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Harm.*, III, 7: τοιγάρτοι καὶ ταῖς ἐνεργείαις αὐταῖς τῆς μελωδίας συμπάσχουσιν ἡμῶν ἀντικρυς αἱ ψυχαί, τὴν συγγένειαν ὥσπερ ἐπιγινώσκουσαι τῶν τῆς ἰδίας συστάσεως λόγων καὶ τυπούμεναι τισι κινήμασιν οἰκείους ταῖς τῶν μελῶν ιδιοτροπίαις, ὥστε ποτὲ μὲν εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ διαχύσεις ἄγεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς οἴκτους καὶ συστολὰς, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν καροῦσθαι πῶς καὶ κατακοιμίζεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ παρορμᾶσθαι καὶ διεγείρεσθαι, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰς ἡσυχίαν τινὰ καὶ καταστολὴν τρέπεσθαι, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς οἴστρον καὶ ἐνθουσιασμόν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τοῦ μέλους αὐτοῦ τε μεταβάλλοντος καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐξάγοντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμοιότητος τῶν λόγων συνισταμένας διαθέσεις. ὅπερ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν κατανενοηκότα παραινεῖν ἅμα ἔω διαναστάνας, πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος ἐνεργείας, μούσης ἄπτεσθαι καὶ μελωδίας προσηνοῦς, ὅπως τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς διεγέρσεως τῶν ὕπνων περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ταραχῶδες, πρότερον εἰς κατάστασιν εἰλικρινῆ καὶ πραότητα τεταγμένην μεταβάλῃ, εὐαρμόστους αὐτὰς καὶ συμφῶνους ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμερησίους πράξεις παρασκευάζῃ.
- A. 6. Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 15, 64-66: Ὡγούμενος δὲ πρώτην εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν δι' αἰσθήσεως προσφερομένην ἐπιμέλειαν, εἰ τις καλὰ μὲν ὀρώη καὶ σχήματα καὶ εἶδη, καλῶν δὲ ἀκούει ῥυθμῶν καὶ μελῶν, τὴν διὰ μουσικῆς παιδευσιν πρώτην κατεστήσατο διὰ τε μελῶν τινῶν καὶ ῥυθμῶν, ἀφ' ὧν τρόπων τε καὶ παθῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἰάσεις ἐγίγνοντο ἁρμονίαι τε τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς δυνάμεων, ὥσπερ εἶχον ἐξ ἀρχῆς, συνήγοντο, σωματικῶν τε καὶ ψυχικῶν νοσημάτων καταστολαὶ καὶ ἀφυγισμοὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπεννοοῦντο. καὶ νῆ Δία τὸ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἄξιον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν γνωρίμοις τὰς λεγομένας ἐξαρτίσεις τε καὶ ἐπαφὰς συνέταττε καὶ συνηρμόζετο, δαιμονίως μηχανώμενος κεράσματα τινῶν μελῶν διατονικῶν τε καὶ χρωματικῶν καὶ ἑναρμονίων, δι' ὧν ῥαδίως εἰς τὰ ἐναντία περιέτρεπε καὶ περιῆγε τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάθη νέον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλόγως συνιστάμενα καὶ ὑποφύμενα, λύπας καὶ ὀργὰς καὶ ἐλέους καὶ ζήλους ἀτόπους καὶ φόβους, ἐπιθυμίας τε παντοίας καὶ θυμοὺς καὶ ὀρέξεις καὶ χαυνώσεις καὶ ὑπτιότητας καὶ σφοδρότητας, ἐπανορθούμενος πρὸς ἀρετὴν τούτων ἕκαστον διὰ τῶν προσηκόντων μελῶν ὡς διὰ τινῶν σωτηρίων συγκεκραμένων φαρμάκων. 15.65. ἐπὶ τε ὕπνον ἐπέρας τρεπομένων τῶν ὁμιλητῶν, ἀπήλλαττε μὲν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμερινῶν ταραχῶν καὶ ἐνηχημάτων διεκάθαιρέ τε συγκεκλυδασμένον τὸ νοητικόν, ἡσύχους τε καὶ εὐνοείρους, ἔτι δὲ μαντικούς τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτοῖς ἀπειργάζετο· ἀπὸ τε τῆς εὐνῆς πάλιν ἀνισταμένων, τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ κάρου καὶ τῆς ἐκλύσεως καὶ τῆς νωχελίας αὐτοὺς ἀπήλασσε διὰ τινῶν ιδιοτρόπων ἁσμάτων καὶ μελισμάτων, ψιλῇ τῇ κράσει, διὰ λύρας ἢ καὶ φωνῆς, συντελουμένων. ἑαυτῷ δὲ οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως, δι' ὀργάνων ἢ καὶ ἀρτηρίας, τὸ τοιοῦτον ὁ ἀνὴρ συνέταττε καὶ ἐπόριζεν, ἀλλὰ ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ καὶ δυσεπινοήτῳ θεϊότητι χρώμενος ἐνητένιζε τὰς ἀκοὰς καὶ τὸν νοῦν ἐνήρειδε ταῖς μεταρσίαις τοῦ κόσμου συμφωνίαις, ἑνακούων, ὡς ἐνέφαινε, μόνος αὐτὸς καὶ συνιείς τῆς καθολικῆς τῶν σφαιρῶν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὰς κινουμένων ἀστέρων ἁρμονίας τε καὶ συνῶδίας, πληρέστερόν τι τῶν θνητῶν καὶ κατακορέστερον μέρος φθεγγομένης διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀνομοίων μὲν καὶ ποικίλως διαφερόντων ῥοιζημάτων ταχῶν τε καὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἐποχήσεων, ἐν λόγῳ δέ τιτι πρὸς ἄλληλα μουσικωτάτῳ διατεταγμένων, κίνησιν καὶ περιπόλησιν εὐμελεστάτην ἅμα καὶ ποικίλως περικαλλεστάτην

ἀποτελουμένην. 15.66. ἀφ' ἧς ἀρδόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν τοῦ νοῦ λόγον εὐτακτούμενος καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν σωμασκούμενος εἰκόνας τινὰς τούτων ἐπενόει παρέχειν τοῖς ὁμιληταῖς ὡς δυνατόν μάλιστα, διὰ τε ὀργάνων καὶ διὰ ψιλῆς τῆς ἀρτηρίας ἐκμιμούμενος. ἑαυτῷ μὲν γὰρ μόνῳ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀπάντων συνετὰ καὶ ἐπήκοα τὰ κοσμικὰ φθέγματα ἐνόμιζε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φυσικῆς πηγῆς τε καὶ ρίζης ἄξιον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖτο διδάσκεισθαι τι καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν καὶ ἐξομοιοῦσθαι κατ' ἔφεσιν καὶ ἀπομίμησιν τοῖς οὐρανίοις.

A. 7. Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 25, 110: "Υπελάμβανε δὲ καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν μεγάλην συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ὑγείαν, ἃν τις αὐτῇ χρῆται κατὰ τοὺς προσήκοντας τρόπους. εἰώθει γὰρ οὐ παρέργως τῇ τοιαύτῃ χρῆσθαι καθάρσει· τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσηγόρευε τὴν διὰ τῆς μουσικῆς ἰατρείαν. ἦπτετο δὲ περὶ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν τῆς τοιαύτης μελωδίας· ἐκάθιζε γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ λύρας ἐφαπτόμενον, καὶ κύκλῳ ἐκαθέζοντο οἱ μελωδεῖν δυνατοί, καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνου κρούοντος συνῆδον παιωνίας τινας, δι' ὧν εὐφραίνεσθαι καὶ ἐμμελεῖς καὶ ἔνρυθμοι γίνεσθαι ἐδόκουν. χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τῇ μουσικῇ ἐν ἰατρείας τάξει, καὶ εἶναι τινα μέλη πρὸς τὰ ψυχῆς πεποιημένα πάθη, πρὸς τε ἀθυμίας καὶ δηγμούς, ἃ δὴ βοηθητικώτατα ἐπινενόητο, καὶ πάλιν αὖ ἕτερα πρὸς τε τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θυμούς καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν παραλλαγὴν τῆς τοιαύτης ψυχῆς, εἶναι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἄλλο γένος μελοποιίας ἐξευρημένον. χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ ὀρχήσεσιν. ὀργάνῳ δὲ χρῆσθαι λύρα· τοὺς γὰρ αὐλοὺς ὑπελάμβανε ὑβριστικὸν τε καὶ πανηγυρικὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐλευθέριον τὸν ἦχον ἔχειν. χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρου καὶ Ὡσιόδου λέξεσιν ἐξελεγμέναις πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ψυχῆς.

B. For the Pythagorean belief in the human music as being an imitation of that of the spheres, vid.:

B. 1. Quintilian, I, 10, 12: *Pythagoras atque eum secuti acceptam sine dubio antiquitus opinionem vulgaverint mundum ipsum ratione esse compositum, quam postea sit lyra imitata;*

B. 2. Iamblichus, *Life of Pythagoras*, 15. 65-66, quoted in this same note, A. 6.

B. 3. The idea that music and dance as we humans practice them are an imitation of the music of the spheres has had a very long literary and philosophical fortune; cf., for example, Michael Psellos (eleventh century C. E.), *De omnifaria doctrina*, 200: Περὶ δὲ χορευούσας οὐ βιασόμεθα τὸν λόγον· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ὃ ποιοῦσι, στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἀντιστρεφόμεναι, προάδουσαι καὶ ἀντάδουσαι, ἰστάμεναι τε καὶ συγκινούμεναι, ἀντανακλώμεναι τε καὶ ἀντελιπτόμεναι, προϊοῦσαι τε καὶ ὑπαπιούσαι, εἰκὼν ἐστὶ τῆς τε οὐρανίας κινήσεως καὶ τῆς παντοδαπῆς χορείας τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πλανήτων ἀστέρων καὶ ἀπλανῶν. ἐκ δεξιῶν μὲν οὖν συγκινούμεναι τῆς ἀπλανοῦς τὴν κίνησιν εἰκονίζουσιν, ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ ἀντικινούμεναι τὸν δρόμον τῶν πλανήτων χαρακτηρίζουσι· καὶ ἰστάμεναι μὲν τοὺς στηρίζειν δοκοῦντας διερμηνεύουσιν, ἄδουσαι δὲ καὶ ἀντάδουσαι τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀντικινήσεων ἀπόρρητον ἐρμηνείαν διασαφoῦσιν. ἡ δὲ γε προάδουσα τὸ πρῶτον μέλος τῆς ἀπλανοῦς ἀνακράζει, πρὸς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ μουσουργεῖται μέλη τῶν κινουμένων σφαιρῶν.

C. The cathartic power of the music of the spheres is already suggested by Plato, *Tim.*, 47 b-d: θεὸν ἡμῖν ἀνευρεῖν δωρήσασθαι τε ὅψιν, ἵνα τὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ τοῦ νοῦ κατιδόντες περιόδους χρῆσαιμεθα ἐπὶ τὰς περιφορὰς τὰς τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν διανοήσεως, συγγενεῖς(ς.) ἐκείναις οὔσας, ἀταράκτοις τετραγμένας, ἐκμαθόντες δὲ καὶ λογισμῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὀρθότητος μετασχόντες, μιμούμενοι τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ πάντως ἀπλανεῖς οὔσας, τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν πεπλανημένας καταστησαίμεθα. φωνῆς τε δὴ καὶ ἀκοῆς πέρι πάλιν ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα παρὰ θεῶν δεδωρῆσθαι. λόγος τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τέτακται, τὴνμεγίστην συμβαλλόμενος εἰς αὐτὰ μοῖραν, ὅσον τ' αὐτὸ μουσι- (d.) κῆς φωνῇ χρήσιμον πρὸς ἀκοὴν ἔνεκα ἀρμονίας ἐστὶ δοθέν. ἡ δὲ ἀρμονία, συγγενεῖς ἔχουσα φορὰς ταῖς ἐν ἡμῖν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδοις, τῷ μετὰ νοῦ προσχρωμένῳ Μούσαις οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονὴν ἄλογον καθάπερ νῦν εἶναι δοκεῖ χρήσιμος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν γεγονυῖαν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκησιν ψυχῆς περίοδον εἰς κατακόσμησιν καὶ συμφωνίαν ἑαυτῇ σύμμαχος ὑπὸ Μουσῶν δέδοται. Cf. Plutarch, *De*

superstitione, 5, 167 b-c: μουσικὴν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων ἐμμελείας καὶ εὐρυθμίας δημιουργὸν ἀνθρώπους ὑπὸ θεῶν οὐ τρυφῆς ἔνεκα καὶ κνήσεως ὧτων δοθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὥστε τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδων καὶ ἁρμονιών τὸ ταραχῶδες καὶ πεπλανημένον ἐν σώματι, μούσης τε καὶ χάριτος ἐνδεία πολλαχῇ δι' ἀκολασίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐξυβρίζον, αὐθις εἰς τάξιν ἀνελίττουσαν οἰκείως καὶ περιάγουσαν καθιστάναι. About these texts of Plato and Plutarch, cf. Boyancé, 1966 b, 104-5, who admits that Plato owes these doctrines to the Pythagoreans.

D. The idea of the cathartic power of human music being derived from that of the music of the spheres can be also found in Cicero, *De re publica*, VI, 18: *Illi autem octo cursus, in quibus eadem vis est duorum, septem efficiunt distinctos intervallis sonos, qui numerus rerum omnium fere nodus est; quod docti homines nervis imitati atque cantibus aperuerunt sibi reditum in hunc locum*. The soteriological function of the music of the spheres in the afterlife is more clearly stated by Cicero than it was by Plato. Cf. Pizzani, 1986, 196. On the other hand, the doctrine of an affinity between the movements of the soul and those of the heavenly bodies survived for a very long time: cf., for example, Michael Psellos, *Oratoria minora*, 17, lines 94-6 (ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀστέρων μιμεῖται χορὸν κινούμενα καὶ περιελιπτόμενα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔνδον δεικνύντα χορεύουσιν).

E. An interesting affinity can be found between Iamblichus' passages quoted above, and Philo of Alexandria, *De virtutibus*, 73-4: καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄθροισμα θεῖον, τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός καὶ τὰ συνεκτικώτατα μέρη τοῦ κόσμου, γῆν τε καὶ οὐρανόν, τὴν μὲν θνητῶν ἐστίαν, τὸν δὲ ἀθανάτων οἶκον, ἐν μέσοις τὰς ὑμνωδίας ἐποιεῖτο διὰ παντὸς ἁρμονίας καὶ συμφωνίας εἶδους, ἵνα κατακούσωσιν ἄνθρωποι τε καὶ ἄγγελοι λειτουργοί, οἱ μὲν ὡς γνώριμοι, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ὁμοίας εὐχαρίστου διαθέσεως διδασκαλίαν, οἱ δ' ὡς ἔφοροι θεασάμενοι κατὰ τὴν σφῶν ἐμπειρίαν, μή τι τῆς ψῆδης ἐκμελές, καὶ ἅμα διαπιστοῦντες, εἴ τις ἄνθρωπος ὢν ἐνδεδεμένος σώματι φθαρτῷ δύναται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων πανιέρῳ χορῷ μεμουσώσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὄργανον, τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον, ἁρμολογούμενος. Cf. Staab, 2002, 299.

¹⁶¹ Proclus, *In Crat.*, sec. 158: Ὅτι τρία γένη Σειρήνων οἶδεν ὁ μέγας Πλάτων, οὐράνιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς βασιλείαν, γενεσιουργόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα, καθαρτικόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τὸν Ἄϊδην· καὶ ἔστιν κοινὸν αὐτῶν πασῶν τὸ διὰ τῆς ἐναρμονίου κινήσεως ὑποκατακλίνειν πάντα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἡγεμόσι θεοῖς. διόπερ ἐν οὐρανῷ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν οὔσαν ἐνίξειν θέλει ταῖς ἐκεῖ διαγωγαῖς· ἐν δὲ τῇ γενέσει ζώσας παραπλέειν αὐτὰς προσήκει κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρικὸν Ὀδυσσέα, εἴπερ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα γενέσεως εἰκὼν, ἵνα μὴ θέλγωνται ὑπὸ τῆς γενέσεως· ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἄϊδι γενομένης συνάπτεσθαι διὰ τῶν νοήσεων πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον· ὥστε οἶδεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἄϊδου βασιλείᾳ γένη θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων καὶ ψυχῶν, αἱ περιχορεύουσι τὸν θεὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ Σειρήνων θελγόμεναι.

¹⁶² We do not find any allusion to such a soteriological function of the heavenly music neither in the *Timaeus*, 42b, where souls are said to return temporarily to the star they were allotted before their incarnation (πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ συννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν ἄστρου), nor in the *Phaedrus*, 247b-248b, where heavens are supposed to be the abode of the souls before incarnation and between incarnations (and where souls share some of the iconographic features of the heavenly bodies, like the chariots and, perhaps, the wings). This might be so because in these dialogues Plato did not accept that the human souls could become divine like the stars, and thus escape from the cycle of reincarnations. As to the wings of the heavenly bodies (which they share with the souls in Plato's *Phaedrus*), cf. III. 1.

¹⁶³ Cf. Joannes of Gaza, Ἐκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος, I, vv. 1-2: Πῆι φέρομαι; πτερόεις με δι' ἥερος ἔμφοροι ροίζωι / Σειρήνων λιγύφωνος ἄγει θρόος.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Molina-Moreno, 2002b.